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The Story of Jerusalem

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The Pool of Hezekiah

looking towards the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

The Story of Jerusalem

by Colonel Sir C. M. Watson,

K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A., etc.

Illustrated by Geneviève Watson

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PREFACE

This little work is intended to give a résumé of the story of Jerusalem from the earliest times to the present day, and to record briefly the vicissitudes through which the city has passed, the sieges from which it has suffered, the many changes of its rulers, and the manner in which it has always revived, no matter how complete has been its desolation. Although it was in truth a Mediæval Town of great importance, it would not be possible to explain the position it occupied in Mediæval times without going much further back in its history, and explaining how it reached that position; and why, for so many centuries, it was the battle-ground of East and West. It is a Sacred City for three of the most important religions of the world, the Jewish, the Christian, and the Moslem; for the two first *the* Holy City, and, for the third, second only to Mecca and Medina. Probably for this reason more than any other, Jerusalem has maintained its continued existence; and, for this reason it can never die so long as mankind continues to have any religious belief at all.

Considering that Jerusalem has been a city of importance for nearly three thousand years, it has, of course, been necessary to omit many facts of interest in making this compilation, and it may be desirable

to refer those readers, who wish to go more deeply into the subject, to some of the numerous books in which it is treated at greater length. And of these, for the earlier history up to the time of the destruction of the city by the Romans, there is none better than that written by the Rev. George Adam Smith, D.D. entitled, *Jerusalem, the Topography, Economics, and History from the Earliest Times to* A.D. *70*, published in 1908. Those who want fuller details will find them in the works of the Jewish author Josephus, who was himself present at the siege of Jerusalem by the Emperor Titus, and who took much pains to compile a complete history of his native land. These works are: *The Antiquities of the Jews*, which contains the history of the nation up to the outbreak of the great rebellion in A.D. 66, while the second, *The Wars of the Jews*, continues the account to the fall of Jerusalem, and describes in great detail all that happened during the siege. There are also many passages scattered through the Old Testament and the Apocrypha which throw much light on the history of Jerusalem when carefully studied and compared with one another.

For the next period, from the time of the destruction of the city by Titus to its capture by Saladin in the twelfth century, one of the best books to consult is *Jerusalem, The City of Herod and Saladin*, by the late Walter Besant and Prof. E. H. Palmer, as this contains a mass of useful information in a fairly compact form; its perusal can well be supplemented by a study of the publications of the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts Society, which contain excellent translations

of the accounts of their travels, written by visitors to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, from A.D. 333 to A.D. 1483. These volumes include not only the descriptions given by Christian pilgrims, but also those by Mahomedan writers, which are of great interest with regard to the Arab buildings in Jerusalem; and the accounts, by Eusebius and Procopius, of the churches built by the Emperors Constantine and Justinian. It is hardly necessary to point out the advantage of reading descriptions written by persons who actually saw Jerusalem and its buildings in early times, having regard to the great alterations which have since been made in many of the latter. Considerable use has been made of these accounts in the compilation of the present work, and the quotations taken from them will give the reader an idea of the importance of the information which they contain.

There are many works dealing with the interval of time which has elapsed from the Turkish occupation of Jerusalem in 1517 to the present day, and, of these, it has been necessary to make a selection sufficient to carry on the continuity of the story without undue repetition. The books chosen for this purpose are: *Sandys' Travels*, giving an account of the Holy City in 1610; *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, made by the Rev. H. Maundrell in 1697; *A Description of the East, etc.*, by Dr. R. Pococke, who visited Jerusalem in 1737; *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, by F. R. de Chateaubriand, the last traveller to give a description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, before it was destroyed by the great fire in 1808;

and *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, by the Rev. E. Robinson, D.D., who travelled in the East, first in 1838, and a second time in 1852. The works of the latter writer are specially valuable, as, although some of the conclusions which he arrived at have been modified by more recent explorations, he may be regarded as the first scientific student of the topography of ancient Jerusalem.

Reference must also be made to the publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund, a Society which, since its foundation forty-six years ago, has, by the work of its explorers, and with the assistance of the many able writers who have contributed to its Quarterly Statement, accumulated a vast amount of useful information with regard to Palestine and Jerusalem.

Other books might be mentioned, but those of which the names have been given may be regarded as sufficient for the commencement of the study of the history of Jerusalem, especially as in them will be found references to many additional useful works. Those who give time and thought to the subject will find it a most fascinating one, but they will also probably find that, in order to understand it, they should visit the Holy City, examine carefully on the ground the points of interest which still exist, and learn to appreciate the manner in which the ancient city has, to a large extent, disappeared from sight beneath the masses of rubbish which have accumulated during the course of many centuries. It is, however, as well to remark, that a short visit is of little use for

the understanding of Jerusalem; the traveller who stops in a hotel, probably crowded with tourists, is hurried round the regular sights by his dragoman, and then leaves after two or three days, will almost certainly be disappointed, and may even regard Jerusalem as a fraud. It is necessary to live for a time in the city, to return to the same places again and again, and to read, mark and learn before one can appreciate the story of Jerusalem.

Many of the following pages were written in the Hospice of St. Paul, just outside the Damascus Gate, where, from the window overlooking the north wall of the city, one could see the sun rising over the Mount of Olives, and lighting up the domes, the minarets and the roof-tops of the Holy City. Below, under the cliff upon which the wall is built, was the dark entrance to the quarries of King Solomon, round which, evening after evening, the shepherds of the country gathered with their flocks to buy and sell, probably just as they had done since the days of King Solomon, when the sheep were brought daily to the north gate of the city for the Jewish sacrifices. The rulers of the people may change, but the ways of the people change not, and will probably remain the same, whatever may be the fortunes of Jerusalem in the future.

C. M. Watson.

February, 1912.

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JERUSALEM

CHAPTER I

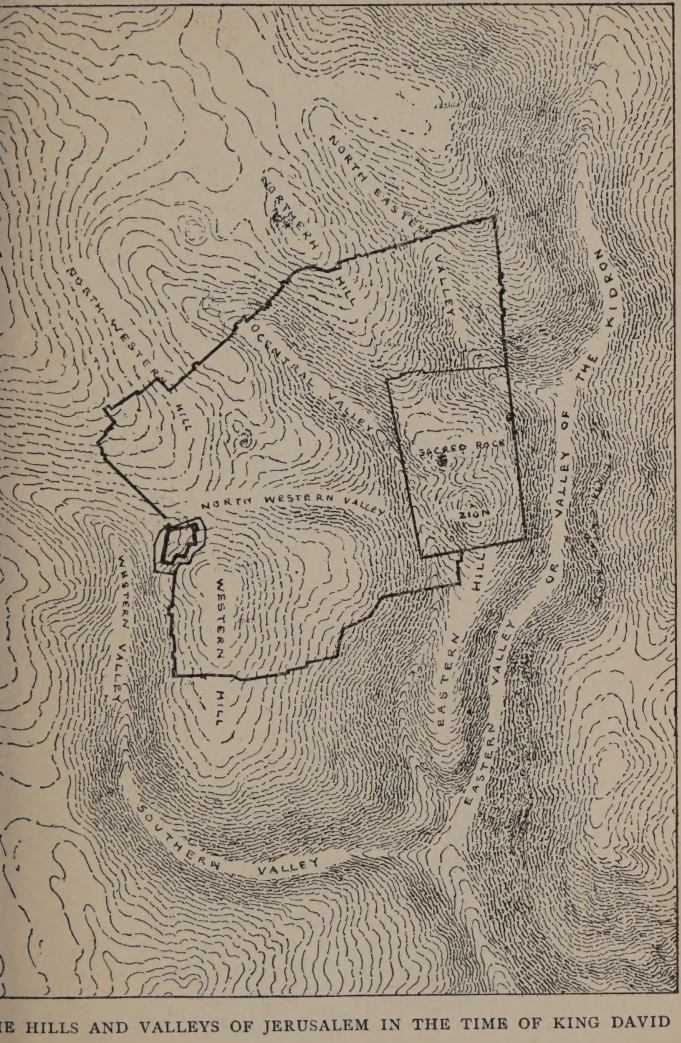
THE ANCIENT CITY

THERE are but few towns of great antiquity which have had so long and so uninterrupted a history as Jerusalem. Commencing its existence in prehistoric times, captured and almost destroyed again and again, it has always risen up after the times of desolation, and now, in the twentieth century, is a flourishing and important city, nearly three thousand years since King David selected it as the most suitable place to be the capital of the kingdom of Israel. In this respect its story is very different from that of other great cities of the East, some of which, such as Nineveh and Babylon, are now forsaken heaps of ruins; some have changed their position; while, of others, the very sites are uncertain or unknown, so completely has the remembrance of them been obliterated.

Although the fact that Jerusalem still stands in its original position is historically of great interest, it has the disadvantage of making it more difficult for the modern traveller to understand old Jerusalem, as city overlies city, and, in some places, the modern streets are nearly one hundred feet above the level of the old town; it is, therefore, only by the results of excavations, very difficult to make under the circumstances, that the ancient city can be approximately

planned and described. It is clear that at no time could the town have stood at a lower level than the actual rock surface of the hill, and, if this rock surface could be thoroughly examined, it would form a starting point for dealing with the history; but, covered as it is with streets and houses, it is of course exceedingly difficult to get down to it, and it is only due to the explorations made by General Sir Charles Warren (then Captain Warren, R.E.) in 1867–70, and by those of the late Dr. Conrad Schick, and others, that it is possible to form some idea of what the group of hills, upon which the city stands, was like, before the first occupation by man. Such an idea is given in the annexed sketch plan, which may be regarded as fairly correct, so far as our present knowledge goes.

This group of hills, now represented by a nearly level plateau, as the inner valleys have been filled up with the accumulations of ages, forms an outlying spur of the mountains of Judæa, and has a general direction of from north to south. On the northern side the ground is comparatively level; two valleys, on the west, south and east, encircle the site, and, gradually getting deeper, unite near the Pool of Siloam to form one valley, which runs down to the Dead Sea. Of these valleys, one, commencing near the point where the Jaffa Gate now stands, goes south for about half a mile; then, turning east, it encircles the south quarter of the city, and merges into the second or eastern valley, known as the Valley of the Kedron. These two valleys, although in parts much encumbered with rubbish, are still perfectly visible, and, from the earliest times, the whole of the city of Jerusalem has always lain between them. But the area thus enclosed has greatly altered in process of time, as originally it contained several distinct hills and valleys, which have now almost disappeared.



HE HILLS AND VALLEYS OF JERUSALEM IN THE TIME OF KING DAVID

The existing modern wall of the city is shown in black to aid in the identification of different localities.

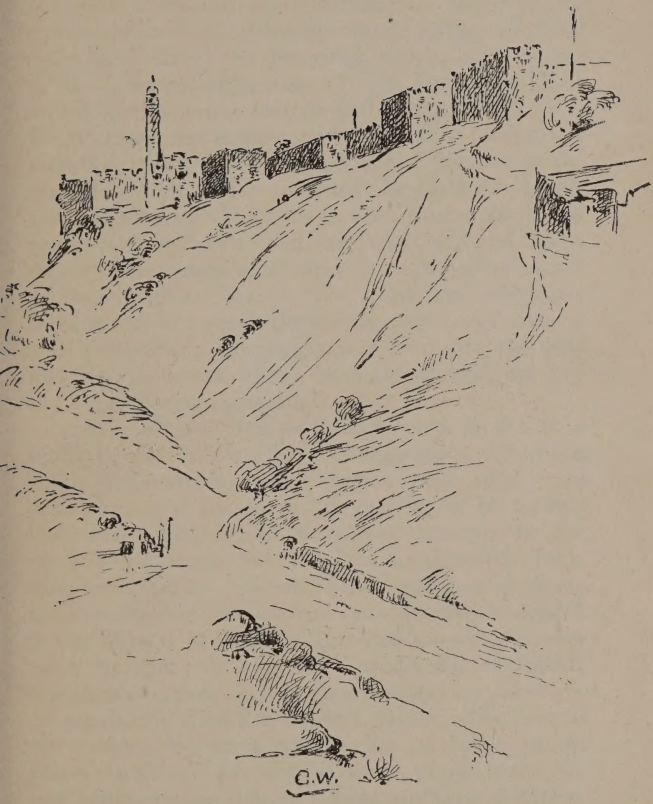
Of these hills the two most important are the western and the eastern, divided from one another by a deep central valley, now filled up with the accumulations of many centuries, which divided the city into two parts. The crest of the western hill, now called Mount Sion, runs nearly north and south from the Jaffa Gate to the Moslem building known as the Cœnaculum; and, joined to the higher ground on the north, the hill descends with rapid slopes to the west, south and east. This western hill has been called Mount Sion since early Christian times, and the name will be so written in the following pages in order to distinguish it from the Jewish Zion, which was on the eastern hill. The transference of the names of places in Jerusalem gives rise to many interesting questions, but it also causes considerable difficulty in the identification of ancient sites.

The eastern hill, on the other side of the central valley, has its present summit at the sacred rock, now called the Sakhrah, upon which stood the Holy of Holies of the Jewish Temple; it is covered by the Moslem building, the Dome of the Rock, commonly, but incorrectly, known as the Mosque of Omar. From this rock the central line of the hill lies in a curve, first to the east of south, then to the west, and again to the east of south. Originally there was probably a point, a little higher than the sacred rock, near to where the Mosque of Aksa now stands. But this part of the hill was cut down by the Maccabees in the second century B.C., in order to make the hill of the Temple the highest. Part of the eastern hill is under the Haram enclosure, and here its sloping sides are quite obliterated, but to the south, outside the enclosure, the hill is still visible, and this part is known as Ophel. On the eastern hill was the City of David, the royal city of the kings of Judah.

The north-western hill was separated from the western, and from the eastern hill, by valleys which have now disappeared. Upon the north-western hill stands the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the most sacred of the Christian places in Jerusalem. From the site of this church the ground slopes gradually upwards toward the west, and the slope continues beyond the present walls of the city; outside the walls, on the north-western hill, has been built a great part of New Jerusalem, the houses of which have sprung up so rapidly within the last few years.

The last of the hills, the northern, lies on the other side of the central valley, and to the north of the Haram enclosure, and has its culminating point in the mound outside the Damascus Gate, under which is the cavern known as Jeremiah's Grotto. This hill was called Bezetha in the time of the siege of Titus, and, under it, are the extensive quarries out of which the stone was taken for the construction of the Temple. The relative heights of the four hills upon which Jerusalem is built are as follows: the western, at its highest point, is 2,550 feet above the Mediterranean; the eastern, at the sacred rock, is 2,440 feet; the north-western, at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was 2,490 feet, rising to 2,570 at the wall of the town; while the northern hill has an altitude of 2,530 feet above sea level at its highest point.

Next to turn to the valleys of the ancient city: two of these, the western, supposed to be the Valley of Hinnom of the Bible, and the eastern, the Valley of the Kedron, have already been described. The other valleys, which formerly intersected the interior of the city, and which have now almost disappeared, must be described more particularly, as without a clear comprehension of them it is impossible to



THE WEST WALL OF JERUSALEM

understand the history of Jerusalem. Of these the most important was the deep central valley, called the Tyropœon Valley by Josephus, which, commencing in the plateau north-west of the Damascus Gate, separates the north-western and western hills from the northern and eastern, and descends in a southerly direction towards the Pool of Siloam. The accumulation of rubbish in this valley may be understood from the fact that its old bed is at least thirty feet below the present surface at the Damascus Gate, and nearly ninety feet underground near the south-west corner of the Haram enclosure. The valley now only shows its existence by a gentle slope in the streets of the town, and it requires some imagination to realize the deep and rugged ravine which formerly divided the city into two distinct portions.

The other two interior valleys have, in a similar manner, almost completely disappeared. Of these, the north-western, which began near where the Jaffa Gate now stands, and, descending in an easterly direction, passed under what was formerly the site of the Muristan, or Hospital of the Knights of St. John, now occupied by the new Greek bazaar, and joined the central valley somewhere near the Bab es Silsileh in the Haram enclosure. Speaking broadly, the line of street from the Jaffa Gate to the Bab es Silsileh, sometimes called David Street, may be taken to represent the direction of this valley. The last of the valleys, the north-eastern, has its origin in the plateau north of Jeremiah's Grotto, passes under the city wall near the Bab ez Zahireh, or Gate of Herod, crosses the town in a south-eastern direction, and joins the Valley of the Kedron at a point a little to the north of the Golden Gate. The north-eastern valley is almost completely filled up, and its existence was only discovered by excavations in comparatively

recent times. The Pool of Bethesda, near the church of St. Anne, lies in this valley.

The hills upon which Jerusalem was built are composed of stratified limestone of two kinds: the one, called "misseh," being a hard, reddish-grey stone, while the other, called "melikeh," is a softer and easily worked stone, much used for building. The strata incline towards the south-east, and, on the eastern slopes, their outcrop on the hillsides must have been very marked—a formation common in Southern Palestine, making the slopes look like flights of gigantic steps, of which the risers are formed by the projecting edges of the strata, while the flat parts between these form terraces, frequently used for cultivation. The traveller by rail from Jaffa to Jerusalem can see many instances of this formation on both sides of the line, and can thus obtain a good idea of what the hills within the site of the city of Jerusalem must have been like, before they were touched by the hand of man.

It is impossible to say when human beings first took up their abode on the hills of Jerusalem, but there can be no doubt that it was the home of people of the stone age, possibly five thousand years ago, as flint implements and weapons have been found in the debris of the ancient city. These prehistoric men probably lived in natural or artificial caves formed in the limestone strata on the hill slopes, and were of a race similar to those, of whom Prof. R. A. S. Macalister found many remains at Gezer, near Ramleh. They appear, judging from their bones, to have been of small stature; they had no knowledge of the use of metals, and disposed of the dead by cremation. Of their history nothing is known, and it is impossible to say whether they were the first race to inhabit the country.

The primitive people of the stone age appear to have

been succeeded at some uncertain date, which, for the sake of fixing the ideas, may be taken as approximately B.C. 2500, by a Semitic race of higher type, who came from the countries east or south of Palestine. They may have been nomadic at first, like the Bedouin of to-day, having their wealth in flocks and herds, and gradually took to the cultivation of the land as they discovered the advantages of a more settled kind of life. Then they found the necessity of some better shelter than tents in the cold winter climate of the Palestine hills, and, first using the cave dwellings of their predecessors, replaced these in process of time by houses of a primitive description. This must have led to the collection of articles of value, other than camels and sheep, and then the little group of houses was surrounded by some kind of wall, the first step in the history of a fortified city.

Such a measure of defence was all the more necessary, as Palestine lay between the dominions of four great kingdoms, those of the Hittites to the north, the Assyrians and Babylonians to the east, and the Egyptians to the south, kingdoms between which there were frequently wars, during which Palestine was the scene of the struggle for supremacy. Probably, in the first instance, these Semitic settlements were small, but in fixing their sites one consideration was important: the provision of a good water supply—not an easy matter, as there are but few streams in Palestine which run all the year round; and, though in the rainy season there are many rushing torrents, these soon dry up when the rain ceases, leaving the beds bare and rocky, without a drop of water. But, fortunately, in the hills here and there are permanent springs, fed by the rains which have penetrated through the porous rocks, and it is natural to suppose that the early permanent settlements would have been placed

on sites conveniently situated with regard to such springs. Failing a spring, the only resource was to hollow out cisterns in the rock to collect the water which fell during the rains, and reservoirs of this kind have been used in Palestine from the earliest times to the present day.

The above two considerations, which had to be taken into account in the formation of the Semitic settlements, are very useful in enabling us to form an idea of the positions which would have been selected on the site of the city of Jerusalem for the early permanent habitations; as, in the first place, these had to be upon a hilltop for purposes of defence, and, secondly, a good water supply was desirable. At the present time there is only one permanent spring in the area of Jerusalem, that known as the Virgin's Fountain, which is on the western slope of the Valley of the Kedron, about three hundred yards south of the Haram enclosure, and this has undoubtedly existed from the earliest times. There was also probably another spring in the deep central valley, now entirely concealed by rubbish, from which, at a later period, a conduit was made, leading down the central valley, so as to make the water more conveniently available for the dwellers upon the hills. This watercourse may have been "the brook that flowed through the midst of the land," referred to in 2 Chronicles xxxii. 4, and the spring from which it was derived, may have been the upper water of Gihon, which King Hezekiah brought down to the city of David. It is right to say, however, that the existence of this second spring is denied by some writers, so completely has it disappeared.

Another point which has been the subject of much controversy concerns the question as to which of the two hills which have been described above, the

western or the eastern, was selected by the earliest house builders of Jerusalem as the site for their little town. Both of these, surrounded on nearly all sides by deep valleys, were very suitable from the point of view of defence, and, as has been shown, there was a supply of water not far distant. The western hill had the advantage of a broader and flatter surface, and if the settlers established their fortified village at the north end they would have had ample room, south of it, for keeping their camels and flocks in a secure position in case of attack. The eastern was lower, but was nearer to the water supply. On the whole it appears most likely that the summits of both the hills were occupied, probably by members of the same tribe, and strength is given to this presumption by the fact that, at a later period, there were certainly two separate towns on the two hills, and that the word Jerusalem, as originally written, was a word with a dual termination.

With a little exercise of imagination one can see this beginning of what was to become the great and important city of Jerusalem. Just two small villages, each enclosed by its own wall, one on the western hill, a little to the south of the site of the Jaffa Gate and near where Christ Church now stands; the other, on the eastern hill, at the southern end of what is now the Haram enclosure, and near the site of the great Mosque of Aksa. The cave dwellers have passed away, and the caves in the steep hillsides, in which they lived, are used as tombs by the later comers, who bury and do not burn their dead. Flint implements and weapons have been replaced by instruments of bronze, and, later, of iron, and possibly some kind of civic government has taken the place of the primitive customs of the aborigines.

This is all that can be conjectured as to the first

foundation of Jerusalem, and at least one thousand years had to pass, after the time of the early Semitic occupation, before the city is mentioned in literary records, a period during which many interesting events may have happened, of which at present nothing is known beyond the fact, already mentioned, that there were frequently wars between the great nations surrounding Palestine, during which the little country must have suffered much, and been subordinate, sometimes to one, and sometimes to another foreign king.

It was during this period that Abraham and his family emigrated from Ur of the Chaldees, and settled in the southern part of the land of Canaan; and, as he purchased the field of Machpelah at Hebron as a burial place for Sarah his wife, from Ephron, a Hittite, it is evident that Hittites were then permanently settled in the country, but to what extent they were the governing race is unknown. Jerusalem is not mentioned in the Book of Genesis, unless it is the Salem, the city of which Melchizedek, the friend of Abraham, was king, and which Josephus believed to be the same as Jerusalem. Josephus also makes a statement, omitted in the Book of Genesis, to the effect that the Mount Moriah, where Abraham was ordered to sacrifice his son Isaac, was the hill upon which the Temple of Solomon was afterwards built, and this tradition is still believed to the present day. It is somewhat confirmed by the fact that, at the time of the occurrence, Abraham was living at Beersheba, on the southern border of Palestine, which is believed to be the place now called Bir es Seba, fifty miles south of Jerusalem. The distance agrees well with the length of the road by which Abraham travelled, as he was three days on the journey from Beersheba to Mount Moriah.

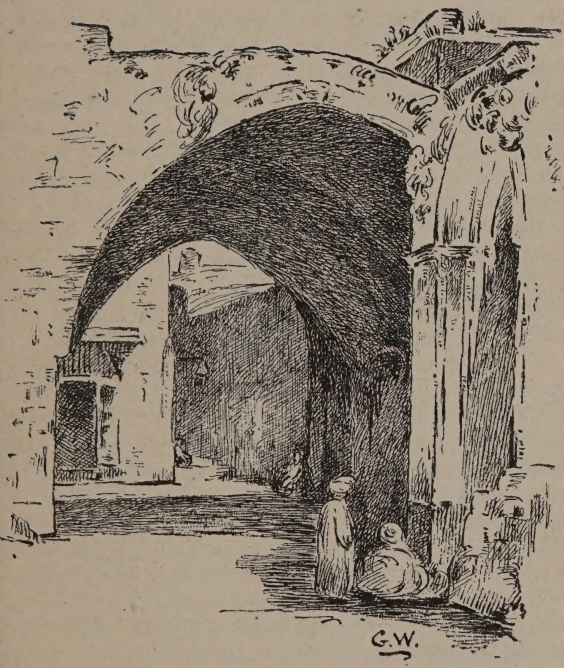
At an early period Palestine became tributary to Egypt, but the exact date is unknown. The fact is proved by the contents of some of the letters on clay tablets, written in the cuneiform character, found at Tell el Amarna on the Nile; as, of these letters, there are eight written by Abd-Khiba, the governor of the country in which Jerusalem was situated, to Amenhotep IV, then king of Egypt, describing his difficulties with the people of the country, and asking for help against his enemies. The date of these letters may be given as approximately B.C. 1500. The exact position of Abd-Khiba is not quite clear, but it is possible that he was a native chief, holding a position under the king of Egypt, much in the same way as the rajahs of the native states in India are subordinate to British rule at the present day. From the letters it would appear that there were then many different nationalities in the country, and that there were constant struggles between them, but the king of Egypt was the overlord, as Abd-Khiba in one of the letters remarks, that he holds Jerusalem solely by the gift of the King, and that the King has set his name on Jerusalem for ever.

Somewhere about a century after the date of the Tell el Amarna tablets, Joshua, the successor of Moses, led the children of Israel across Jordan into the Promised Land, and carried out that partial conquest of the country, and its division among the twelve tribes, which is recorded in the Bible. Then Jerusalem comes again into view, and is described in such a way as to make it clear that it was a double town, of which one part was on the western, and the other on the eastern hill. In the fifteenth chapter of the Book of Joshua there is given an account of the north border of the tribe of Judah, and, in the eighteenth chapter of the same Book, of the south border of the tribe of

Benjamin, and a comparison of these shows that the common line of boundary was drawn along the valley south of the western hill; then northwards up the deep central valley to a point near the sacred rock, after which the boundary crossed the eastern hill. The city on the western hill, then called Jebus, therefore fell within the lot of Benjamin, while the smaller settlement, later known as Zion, was in the territory of the tribe of Judah.

At the time of Joshua's invasion the inhabitants of Jerusalem were called Jebusites, but it is not quite clear whether they were so called because they lived in the city Jebus; or whether the city was so named because the Jebusites lived in it. However this may be, it is evident that it was a place of importance, and its king, Adonizedec, a powerful chieftain. When Joshua and his followers advanced from Jericho into the hill country, and captured Ai by a clever stratagem, it was Adonizedec who organized a confederation of kings to punish the inhabitants of Gibeon, a town standing a few miles north of Jerusalem, who had sent in their submission to Joshua. These kings, of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon, having assembled their armies, apparently at Jerusalem, marched north to besiege Gibeon, when the people of the latter called upon Joshua to come to their assistance.

Joshua immediately advanced into the hills from his camp at Gilgal near Jericho, attacked the confederated armies at Gibeon, and, defeating them with great slaughter, captured the five kings and hanged them. Following up his victory, Joshua marched through the country between the mountains and the sea, destroying city after city on his route; then, turning again into the hills, he destroyed Hebron and Debir, and returned to his head-quarters at Gilgal. It was a successful campaign, ably conducted, but it is



A STREET IN JERUSALEM

rather curious that no mention is made of any attempt to capture Jerusalem, although it lay on the road from Hebron to Gilgal. Possibly Joshua thought it was too strong a place to attack, especially as his troops must have been exhausted by the long march and severe fighting they had sustained.

After the conclusion of the southern campaign, Joshua turned his attention to the northern parts of Palestine; and, after a war which lasted five years, during which he reduced the greater part of the country to submission, he removed his head-quarters to Shiloh, a place twenty miles north of Jerusalem, and there set up the Tabernacle of Israel. But a considerable number of the stronger cities remained untaken, "on account," as Josephus says, "of the strength of the walls, and of the confidence the inhabitants had in them thereby." Among these unconquered cities was Jerusalem.

Joshua's next work was to parcel out the country among the tribes of Israel, and he died at the age of one hundred and ten years, having completed, so far as he could, the great task imposed upon him by Moses. It is clear, however, from the account both in the Bible and in Josephus, that, although Joshua had distributed the whole of the land among his followers, many of the former inhabitants were left in possession of their towns and territories; and in some respects it was the latter who assimilated the Israelites, rather than the Israelites who subdued the inhabitants, so that the conquest was only a partial one. In the case of Jerusalem the result was rather curious; it has already been explained that, while the town on the eastern hill was allotted to the tribe of Judah, the town on the western hill was in the territory of Benjamin; and it appears from the narrative in the first chapter of the Book of Judges that, while the children of Judah

had fought against Jerusalem and taken it, on the other hand the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites, but the latter dwelt with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem. In other words, the town on the eastern hill was captured, while that on the western remained more or less in the possession of the inhabitants.

After the strong hand of Joshua was removed by death, the Israelites steadily deteriorated; they intermarried with the heathen inhabitants of the country, adopted their idolatrous customs, and fell away from the worship of the true God. It was a dark period in the history of the nation, which lasted for several centuries. From time to time good men, known as the Judges, arose, who endeavoured to lead the people back to the right path, but with indifferent success; and neighbouring nations, such as the Assyrians, the Midianites, the Moabites, and the Philistines, conquered the country in succession, and reduced the Israelites to a state of slavery. There is little known of the history of Jerusalem during these sad times, but there can be little doubt that it had fallen back entirely into the hands of the Jebusites, as, in a passage in the Book of Judges, it is spoken of as a city of the stranger that is not of the children of Israel.

At length the misery culminated in a war with the Philistines, a nation of which the origin is uncertain, but who appear to have come from oversea, possibly from Crete, and had settled along the coast of Palestine in the low country between the Mediterranean and

the hills. During the high priesthood of Eli, these Philistines made a vigorous attack on the possessions of the tribe of Judah, and, in despair, the sons of Eli brought down the holy Ark from the tabernacle at Shiloh, in order that " when it was present with them, they might be too hard for their enemies." But their hopes were disappointed, for the Philistines were victorious, the priests were slain, and the Ark captured and carried off in triumph to the city of Ashdod; as, however, it only brought ill luck to the Philistines, they sent it back to Beth Shemesh, a town in the border land between Judah and Philistia. Samuel, the last and greatest of the Judges, then thoroughly defeated the Philistines, who returned to their coast cities and gave no more trouble to the Israelites during his lifetime. But as Samuel grew old, his power diminished; his sons failed to follow his good example; and at length, at the request of the people, he appointed Saul, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, to be king over Israel. Saul began his reign well, but fell into evil ways, and, after a chequered career, was slain by the Philistines at Mount Gilboa. His death may be regarded as the last important event in the troublous times through which the Hebrews had passed after the death of Joshua.

Saul was succeeded as king by David, the son of Jesse, of the tribe of Judah, and, with his accession, a very different and a happier epoch commenced for the Israelites. David, as a young man, had served under Saul in the wars with the Philistines, and had distinguished himself by slaying Goliath, a champion of the enemy, in single combat, an action which brought him prominently into notice and specially recommended him to King Saul. The latter at first viewed him with great favour, but afterwards became jealous when he found that the people thought

better of David than of himself, and threatened him with death. David had to fly from the court, and took refuge in a cave in the hills of Judah, where, little by little, he collected adherents, and a war followed between him and Saul, which lasted until the death of the king; then David, who in his youth had been anointed as heir to the throne by the prophet Samuel, succeeded to the kingdom, and established his capital at Hebron, a city of the tribe of Judah twenty miles south of Jerusalem. Here he reigned for seven and a half years, and then decided to take Jerusalem from the Jebusites, and make it the capital of his kingdom, probably because it was situated in a more central position and was better suited for defence.

The account of the capture of Jerusalem by King David, as given in 1 Samuel v., 1 Chronicles xi., and in the *Antiquities of the Jews*, by Josephus, Book VII., Chap. III., are not very easy to understand, and have given rise to much controversy; but, as it is the first episode in the history of Jerusalem which is described with any accuracy, it is necessary to refer to it at some length. Part of the difficulty arises from the uncertainty as to whether the Jerusalem attacked by King David was only on the eastern hill, as supposed by Dr. George Adam Smith and other writers, or whether it was a twin town, of which one part was on the western and the other on the eastern hill. As the accounts seem more in favour of the latter view, it will be assumed to be the correct one in the following short résumé of David's siege of the city and in the subsequent history.

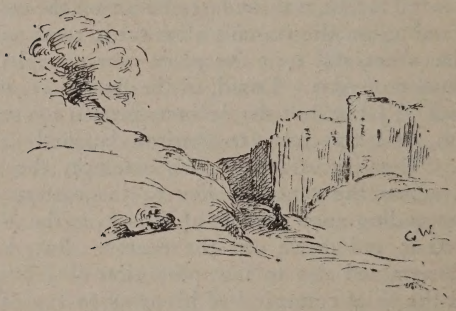
It was about the year B.C. 1048, that King David, after a successful campaign against the family of Saul, assembled a large army from all the tribes of Israel and marched north from his head-quarters at Hebron to Jerusalem. He must have traversed the country

through which the carriage road from Hebron to Jerusalem now passes, and over the hill where the railway station stands. Here Jerusalem lay before him, encircled on the west, south, and east by the deep valleys already described, which have always made an attack upon the city from these directions difficult, if not impossible.

David therefore probably continued his march along the high ground west of the city, in order to attack it from the north, on which side only there was a chance of success. Then, turning to the east, he had on his right hand the city of Jebus on the western hill, strongly fortified; while, separated from it by the deep central ravine, was the fort of Zion on the eastern hill, standing on the summit afterwards removed by the Maccabees, and near the place now occupied by the Mosque of Aksa. David, in the first place, made an attack on Jebus, but the defences proved too strong for him, and the Jebusite garrison laughed at his efforts. Then, frustrated in his attempt, the king moved across the central valley to the eastern hill, and, descending upon the fort of Zion from the north, captured it and drove out the enemy. But, being fully determined also to take possession of Jebus, he offered the chief command of his army to any officer who could overcome it; upon which Joab, one of his own nephews, undertook the difficult task, and, realizing the impossibility of forcing the northern defences, crossed the ravine between the towns, and, attacking Jebus from the rear at some point where the defences were weaker, succeeded in capturing it, to the great satisfaction of the king, who immediately fulfilled his promise, and made him commander-in-chief of the army of Israel.

After the occupation of the city, David made Zion on the eastern hill his own residence, and for many

centuries it continued to be the royal city, inhabited by the persons employed about the court, and by the priests. Jebus, on the other hand, situated on the western hill which had been captured by Joab, was the civil city, or city of the people, and very naturally Joab was appointed governor of it. It was the commencement of a new epoch for Jerusalem, and with its capture by David the city emerges definitely from obscurity, and its real history may be said to begin.



CHAPTER II

JERUSALEM OF THE KINGS

Although King David had already reigned for more than seven years in Hebron, the real commencement of the Jewish monarchy, a monarchy that lasted more than four centuries, may be dated from the establishment of Jerusalem as the capital of the kingdom, and David showed a wise discretion in selecting it as his head-quarters. The fact that it lay on the border-line between two powerful tribes, that of Judah, his own tribe, and that of Benjamin, to which Saul, his predecessor, had belonged, may have had a considerable effect in influencing his decision. It must not be forgotten that the men of the latter tribe were at first, naturally enough, very lukewarm in their allegiance to the new king, and when David assembled his army at Hebron, only three thousand of the house of Benjamin presented themselves; because, as we are told by Josephus, "they were still expecting that some one of the house of Saul should reign over them." It was therefore a diplomatic act on the part of David to give Benjamin an equal share with Judah in the new capital, and, from that time forward, these two tribes always held together, and remained loyal, when the other tribes of Israel broke away from their allegiance to the house of David.

After establishing himself in Jerusalem, King

David's first step was to reconstruct and strengthen the fort of Zion at the northern end of the royal city, and to build new walls round the latter, which doubtless extended farther down the eastern hill than the Jebusite walls. At the same time, Joab repaired the defences of the western city, and probably made them so strong as to leave no chance of his own gallant exploit being repeated. Josephus adds, that David joined the two fortresses to one another, and, as he expresses it, made them one body. If this were so, the old north wall of Jerusalem, which ran from a point near where the Jaffa Gate now stands, along the southern side of the north-western valley, and across the central valley, was the work of King David. This wall never changed its position up to the time of the siege by Titus in A.D. 70. There is no evidence to show whether the cities were also united on the south by David, or whether the south wall was built by his successor, Solomon.

Although David had greatly increased in power, the Philistines were still unsubdued, and, as the Ark of God was at Kirjath Jearim, a place near the border of the Philistine country, the king decided to bring it up to Jerusalem, and to prepare a suitable place for its reception in the royal city, which he intended should be the centre of spiritual, as well as of temporal government. Surrounded by all the priests and people, he proceeded to Kirjath Jearim, where the Ark had been kept for twenty years in the house of Abinadab, a Levite, who had taken care of it after its return by the Philistines; and, committing it to the charge of the priests, had it brought up with great ceremony to Jerusalem. The road followed by the procession was probably along the valley through which the line of railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem now passes. After remaining for three months in the

house of Obed-edom, a Levite, the Ark was removed to a tent or tabernacle in the royal city, there to remain until David's son, King Solomon, had erected the Temple of the Lord on Mount Moriah. There is nothing in the records to show whether the tabernacle thus prepared by David was the same tabernacle which was constructed by Moses during the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness of Sinai, and brought by Joshua, after his invasion of Palestine, to Shiloh; but, as more than four centuries had elapsed since that time, it seems hardly likely that the first tabernacle could still have been in existence, and there is no account of its having been moved by David from Shiloh to Jerusalem. However this may have been, there can be no doubt that the king re-established in Jerusalem the full ceremonial of the Law, as instituted by the Prophet Moses.

During the thirty-three years of his reign in Jerusalem, King David steadily extended his influence over the surrounding countries, and raised the Hebrew people from the position of a disorganized tribe to the status of a great nation. He conquered the Moabites, the Edomites, the Amalekites, the Midianites and the Syrians; and in all his military expeditions was well served by Joab, the commander-in-chief of the army. Unfortunately, in the full height of his power over the neighbouring nations, the kingdom was threatened with disaster from within, as David's son, Absalom, revolted, and succeeded in drawing away many of the people from their allegiance to his father. The rebellion was so far successful that David was obliged to fly from Jerusalem, and to take refuge at Mahanaim in the Ammonite country east of Jordan, where he was able to organize his forces for the suppression of the insurrection, and to send Joab with an army to overcome the followers of

Absalom. After these had been defeated and Absalom was killed, David returned in peace to Jerusalem, and continued his work on the improvement of the city.

It may be interesting to picture what Jerusalem was like in the days of King David. First, on the eastern hill, we can see the royal city, standing between the deep central valley and the Valley of the Kedron, and having, at its northern end, the stronghold of David, known as the castle of Zion or Millo, in and round which were the barracks for the royal bodyguard. Below the fortress, and lower down the hill to the south, was the palace of the king, built of cedar-wood from Lebanon, given to him by his friend Hiram, the king of Tyre. Here were collected the treasures sent from the tributary nations and the spoils of war taken in the different campaigns, including the shields of gold which had belonged to Hadarezer, king of Zobah; the golden quivers borne by the bodyguard of Hadad, king of Syria; the crown of gold, set with precious stones, worn by Hanun, king of Ammon, and, gold and silver vessels innumerable. There is no record of what this palace was like, except that it had a flat roof, like eastern houses of the present day, where David used to walk in the evening, and from which he saw the coveted Bathsheba, wife of Uriah, one of the captains of the army, who was sent treacherously to his death at the siege of Rabbah Ammon.

Then, probably not far from the royal palace, was the tabernacle of the Ark of God, surrounded by the dwellings of the priests, and beyond, towards Siloam, the residences of the officers of the army and attendants of the court, all surrounded by the walls of the town, which extended down the slopes of the hill from the east and west sides of the castle of Zion. Of the position of the gates it is impossible to speak with certainty; but there was probably a north gate

near the castle, and there must have been a water gate on the east side of the town, close to the place on the side of Ophel where the ancient shaft, explored by Sir Charles Warren, leads down to the Virgin's Fountain. A west gate must also have existed for access across the central valley to the other city, and a south gate leading to the king's gardens above the Pool of Siloam, in which the royal tombs were afterwards excavated in the rock.

Of what the houses in the royal city were constructed there is no evidence to show; but it is not unlikely that these were built in the first instance of wood, like the palace of the king, and gradually replaced by stone houses at a later date. The City of David on the eastern hill was at first only a royal camp, hastily formed after the capture of the place from the Jebusites, and accommodation had to be rapidly provided for the court, the priests and the garrison. Of ordinary civilians there were probably few or none, except servants and attendants, as the civil population lived in the city on the western hill, of which Joab was governor.

Nothing is known as to the size of the city on the western hill in the time of King David, but the north wall was probably on the same line as that of the Jebusite fortifications, and the citadel was on or near the site of the existing Turkish citadel close to the Jaffa Gate. The west wall, also, must have followed approximately the same direction as the present west wall of Jerusalem, but the positions of the east and south walls are quite uncertain. It seems likely that the town had extended in these directions, as the population must have increased largely after the capture by David. The north gate of the city was, as appears from later accounts, about two hundred yards from the north-west corner of the fortifications;

and, a short distance east of this gate, the new wall built by David commenced, which crossed the central valley and joined the western to the eastern city. There was a gate in this wall, called the Fish Gate, to admit traffic coming into the city by the road leading down the central valley from the north. Outside the two cities and the wall connecting them, there appear to have been no habitations, and the country was open and used for cultivation. Probably the tilling of the ground and the culture of the vines and olives were still in the hands of the Jebusites, as all the able-bodied men of Judah and Benjamin were required for war, and they must have often had to depart from home and serve in the field, leaving their families in Jerusalem.

Although the information in the Bible and in Josephus is very scanty, yet there are passages here and there which throw some light on the question. For example, it is evident from 2 Samuel xiv. 28, that Absalom, although the son of the king, had his home in West Jerusalem, and not in the royal city; and this is confirmed by the account in the following chapter, from which it seems clear that the rebellion was planned in the western city. When, however, King David fled, Absalom moved over to the royal city, and took possession of his father's palace, and of his concubines, as a proof to the people that he was really king of Israel. Again, in 1 Kings i., where the circumstances are described with respect to the attempt of Adonijah to have himself declared successor to his father David, the former appears to have collected his friends on the east side of the royal city, whereupon David directed Zadok the high priest, and Nathan the prophet, to escort Solomon, his favourite son, down to the water of Gihon in the central valley, west of the City of David, and there

to proclaim him king in the sight of the people. No better place could have been chosen than this valley, where the ceremony was in full view of both the cities. "And Zadok the priest took an horn of oil out of the tabernacle, and anointed Solomon. And they blew the trumpet; and all the people said, God save King Solomon."

The greatness of King David is somewhat obscured by the renown of his distinguished son, but it must never be forgotten that it was the former who, by his talent and by his valour, established the kingdom of Israel; it was he who selected Jerusalem as the national capital and made it a great city; and he prepared the plans for the construction of the Temple of Jehovah, and collected the vast treasures with which it was built and beautified. The erection of this temple was the dream of David's life since the day when he brought up the Ark from Kirjath Jearim to Jerusalem, and it must have gone to his heart when he had to make confession to the leaders of the people, and to explain why his son Solomon, and not he, was to build the House of the Lord.

One of the last important acts of David was to fix the site for the Temple, and, rather curiously, the final selection of this site was due to his last great error. In the pride of his heart he had determined to number the people, and persisted in his intention, although his best friends pointed out the inadvisability of the act, and endeavoured to dissuade him. He thereby brought the Divine anger upon the nation, and many of the people were cut off by a pestilence, which, after ravaging the country, approached Jerusalem, and threatened to destroy the inhabitants. Then, in a vision, David saw the Angel of Death standing over the rock summit of Mount Moriah, that rock which has been the basis of so many traditions,

and over which the great Moslem Dome now stands. Stricken with contrition, David humbled himself before Jehovah, and was ordered by the prophet Gad to draw near to the place where the angel had appeared and to build an altar and offer sacrifice unto the Lord.

That part of the eastern hill on which the rock was situated lay outside and to the north of the royal city. It was the property of Arannah, a Jebusite, who had been left in possession when Jerusalem was captured, and his threshing-floor was not far from the rock. From him David purchased the property, and on the threshing-floor built an altar to the Lord, an altar that was maintained in the same place when Solomon built the Temple, and that continued to be the centre of Jewish worship for a thousand years, until Jerusalem was captured and destroyed by the Roman Emperor Titus, and the Jewish religion was swept away. The site of the altar is no longer visible, as it is covered by the platform of the Dome of the Rock, but it was probably about fifty yards east of the rock itself. Although it is only stated in the Bible that David purchased the threshing-floor, it is evident that he must have obtained possession of the whole ridge of the eastern hill north of the royal city, as this was required as a site for the Temple and for the courts surrounding it.

Then, the purchase of the ground being completed, David called the leaders of the people together again, explained the arrangements which he had made for the building of the Temple, and described the treasures that had been collected for its adornment; while to Solomon his son he gave the plans, perfect in all the details, and probably the result of long and careful consideration. And so, his life-work being completed, King David died "in a good old age,

full of days, riches and honour." He had commenced his career as a humble shepherd boy, tending his little flock on the hills of Judah; he ended it as one of the mightiest monarchs of the time, feared and respected by all the surrounding nations. He was buried with great magnificence in the City of David, but the place of his sepulture is unknown. Probably it was in the king's gardens on the eastern hill, between the royal city and Siloam. Twice in the past, according to Josephus, was the sepulchre opened; first by the high priest Hyrcanus, who took from it treasure of the value of three thousand talents; and secondly by King Herod the Great, who removed the remainder of the treasures that had been buried with the king. As regards the later treasure hunt Josephus says of Herod, "He had a great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go farther in, even as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon; where two of his guards were slain by a flame that burst out upon those that went in, as the report was. So he was terribly affrighted, and went out, and built a propitiatory monument of that fright he had been in, and this of white stone, at the mouth of the sepulchre, and that at a great expense also." This monument, built by King Herod, was standing at the time of the Crucifixion, as it is referred to by the Apostle Peter, in his address to the disciples on the Day of Pentecost, but was probably destroyed after the siege by Titus, as it is not mentioned by later writers, and the site is completely lost. It is greatly to be hoped that the sepulchre may never be found, to be desecrated by modern hands, as, in that case, the body of the great king would probably be dragged from its resting-place, and, like the bodies of the Egyptian Pharaohs, set up in some museum, to be gazed at by the low-born and the ignorant. May

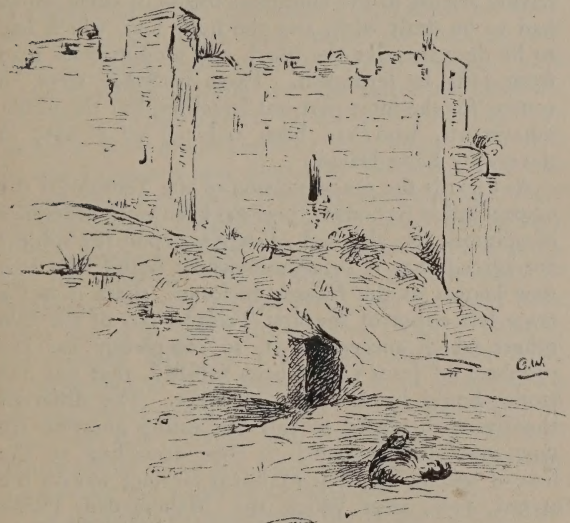
David rest in peace for ever! It is sufficient to know that he was buried somewhere within the limits of the city which he founded.

Solomon, the son and successor of David, had had a very different education from his father, as he was born in the purple, and was brought up as heir to the throne from his early days, so that he entered upon his great inheritance without having had to go through an arduous career of toil and difficulty, such as that by which David had won his way to be king of Israel, and his character was not as remarkable as that of his father.

So far, however, as Jerusalem was concerned, Solomon was the greatest of the kings, and the city reached a position of prosperity and importance never afterwards equalled. Of the works that he carried out, by far the most important was the building of the Temple of Jehovah, for which David had made such long and such careful preparation. But, when Solomon succeeded to the throne, much remained to be done before the actual construction could be commenced, and four years passed before the foundation-stone could be laid, as quantities of stone had to be quarried and worked, timber had to be brought from Lebanon, and the rocky and uneven surface of the hill had to be levelled and prepared. The quarries out of which the stone was taken still exist in the northern hill, vast underground caverns, which can at present only be entered by a small door under the north wall of Jerusalem, and fifty yards east of the Damascus Gate; but, in ancient times, there was probably an entrance at the southern end of the quarries, now closed with rubbish, whence the stone could easily have been carried to the Temple hill. These quarries cover a large area, and are well worth examination, but the visitor has to move with caution,

as the place is quite dark, the ground is very rough, and there are many pitfalls.

The timber was transported from the mountains of Lebanon, cedar, fir and cypress, the great logs of which were joined together into rafts at the ports of Tyre and Sidon in Phœnicia, and floated by sea to



ENTRANCE TO QUARRIES OF SOLOMON

Jaffa, where in those days there was a good harbour, north of the present town, which is now entirely filled up, and is covered with green fields and orange groves. The cutting and bringing down of the timber was a matter of careful organization, and was probably carried out by corvée ; thirty thousand men were detailed to cut the timber in Lebanon and bring it to the seaports, ten thousand working

for a month at a time, and then returning home for two months. Eighty thousand men, doubtless organized on the same system of reliefs, quarried and dressed the stone, while seventy thousand were employed in hauling the timber and stone to Mount Moriah. The numbers may seem large, but none too large, having regard to the enormous blocks of stone which had to be dealt with, and the huge logs, which had to be dragged over the rough and mountainous road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. These workmen were, of course, for the most part not Israelites, but the native inhabitants, who had been reduced to a state of slavery by King David.

As regards the exact position of the Temple on the eastern hill of Jerusalem, there has been much difference of opinion; for, although all writers upon the subject are agreed that it stood somewhere within the area now known as the Haram enclosure, there is not a trace left either of the first Temple, nor of the two others which succeeded it, so completely has the prophecy of Jesus Christ been fulfilled, that not one stone should be left upon another. The different theories with regard to this interesting question are now practically reduced to two, according to the first of which, the altar of burnt sacrifice was on the sacred rock, over which the Mahomedan Dome now stands; while, according to the other, the Holy of Holies of the Temple, in which the Ark of the Covenant was placed, was built over the rock, while the altar was constructed, as has already been mentioned, about fifty yards to the eastward. Of these two theories, the second is the more likely to be correct, as, if the altar had been placed on the summit of the hill, the west wall of the Temple would have been on the slope, and it would have been necessary to make its foundations forty feet at least in depth,

whereas the Rabbis assert in the Talmud, that the foundations were in no place more than six cubits, *i. e.* nine feet in depth.

The Temple, as constructed by King Solomon, had an interior breadth of thirty feet, and a length of ninety feet, the length being divided into two chambers, of which the outer one, called the Holy Place, was sixty feet long, while the interior, the Holy of Holies, was a square of thirty feet side. This latter was built directly over the sacred rock, which, according to the account given by the Rabbis, projected a little above the floor, and, upon it, the Ark of the Covenant was placed by Solomon, and was brought up with great ceremony from the tabernacle in the royal city, constructed by David as its temporary resting-place, until the Temple could be made ready for its reception. The thickness of the walls of Solomon's Temple are not given, but they may have been the same as in the case of Herod's Temple, thirty-seven feet and a half, not altogether solid, as contained in them were thirty small rooms, and a sloping ascent to the upper part of the building. In front of the Temple was the porch, wider and much higher than the main building, and probably resembling the pylon of an Egyptian temple.

Twelve steps led down from the Temple to the court of the priests, in which stood the altar of burnt sacrifice, probably the same as that erected by King David, but beautified by Solomon, who covered it with plates of bronze. Surrounding the Temple, and enclosing it and the altar, was the court of the priests, and beyond this again the outer court, or court of the people of Israel, with pillared cloisters on each side.

Seven years were spent in the construction of the Temple, and after it was completed and dedicated, Solomon built a palace for himself, a magnificent

structure, to take the place of his father's wooden palace. The site of this palace is one of the controversial questions respecting Jerusalem which, up to the present, remain unsettled; but it is possible that it stood on that part of the eastern hill over which is the south-east corner of the Haram enclosure, between the castle of Zion and the Valley of the Kedron, and at a considerably lower level than the Temple. The enormous foundation-stones found at this point by Sir Charles Warren, at a depth of no less than eighty feet below the present surface of the ground, may, not improbably, have formed part of the foundations of the great palace of Solomon. Traditionally the name still clings to the site, as the existing vaults, which all visitors are taken to see, though of comparatively modern date, and at a much higher level than the old foundations, are known as the Stables of King Solomon.

There is no actual statement in the records that Solomon built a wall of fortification surrounding the Temple and other buildings on the eastern hill; but, as these were north of, and outside the walls built by David, it is impossible to believe that so important a position could have been left without defence; and, as this wall undoubtedly existed in the times of the later kings, and as its builder is not mentioned, it may be regarded as certain that the wall was erected by King Solomon. Its exact position is unknown, but it probably followed approximately the line of the present west wall of the Haram to a point between the Bab el Hadid and Bab en Nazir, then crossed the eastern hill, and, turning southwards, was continued until it joined the wall of the royal city of David on Ophel.

The city of Jerusalem increased much in importance during the reign of Solomon, which lasted forty years;

but, notwithstanding his reputation for wisdom, he was not so great a king as his father, and he seems to have thought more of his own position, and of increasing his riches, than of the good of the kingdom of Israel in general. The well-being of ten of the tribes was neglected in order to aggrandize the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and the neighbouring powers of Syria and of Egypt encroached on Israel in a manner which would never have been permitted in the time of King David. As years passed by, Solomon gradually degenerated from his first high position, married many foreign wives, and permitted the heathen systems of religion to be adopted throughout the country. In the end, as Josephus says, he died ingloriously, and was buried with his father in the City of David. Even before his death, the first signs of the break-up of the kingdom had appeared, when the prophet Ahijah informed Jeroboam, one of the provincial governors, that, in consequence of the backsliding of the people, the kingdom would be divided after the death of Solomon, and that he, Jeroboam, was to be king over ten of the twelve tribes of Israel.

Rehoboam succeeded his father Solomon as king, and, shortly afterwards, the ten tribes revolted and joined Jeroboam, who set up a new capital at Shechem, a city of Ephraim, his own tribe, and established the kingdom of Israel, as a rival to the kingdom of Judah.

Rehoboam did his best to consolidate what was left to him, and built many strong cities in Judah and Benjamin; but, notwithstanding this, when Shishak, the king of Egypt, invaded Palestine with a great army, in B.C. 970, he captured a number of the cities, and prepared to besiege Jerusalem with such vigour that Rehoboam surrendered, and bought the Egyptians off by giving up to them all the treasures of the

Temple, and the treasures of the royal palace, and the golden shields borne by the royal bodyguard.

It was a terrible situation for the king; harried on the north by Jeroboam and his followers, and conquered from the south by Shishak and the Egyptians, he had lost the larger part of the great kingdom established by David and maintained by Solomon, and Judah had fallen to the condition of an insignificant state. But the great city of Jerusalem and the Temple of Jehovah still remained, and it was probably the fortifications of the former and the world-wide renown of the latter that saved the remnant of the kingdom. However this may have been, the sudden rise to greatness of the Israelite monarchy under David, and its equally sudden fall under his grandson, Rehoboam, is difficult to understand. How did the former, a simple shepherd boy, get his ideas of founding a great monarchy, of building an imperial city, and of constructing a magnificent Temple for the worship of the God of Israel? and how did he obtain that influence over men which enabled him to carry his ideas into effect?

The internecine war between Judah and Israel continued during the reigns of Rehoboam, and of Abijam and Asa, the two succeeding kings, sometimes the one side, and sometimes the other, getting the upper hand. It was not until Jehoshaphat, the son of Asa, became king of Judah, and Ahab, the son of Omri, who had usurped the throne, became king of Israel, that peace was established between the two kingdoms, a peace which was cemented by the marriage of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, to Athaliah, a daughter of Ahab. This alliance, though apparently well meant by Jehoshaphat, was fraught with disastrous consequences for Judah and Jerusalem, as Jehoram, acting under the influence of his wife,

killed all his brothers, and introduced the evil practices of the house of Ahab. His reign was inglorious, as the Philistines and Arabians invaded the country and captured Jerusalem, carrying off as much spoil as they could find, and killing the king's sons, except the youngest, Ahaziah, who succeeded him. After reigning—it could not be called ruling—for eight years, Jehoram was smitten with an incurable disease, and, as the chronicler quaintly puts it, "departed without being desired."

The next king, Ahaziah, was as evil-minded a man as his father; he did nothing for the kingdom nor for Jerusalem, and met with an end such as he deserved, for, when visiting his uncle, Jehoram, king of Israel, he was murdered by Jehu, an officer of the army of Israel, who had been appointed by the prophet Elisha to destroy the wicked house of Ahab, and to take possession of the throne of Israel. Jehu accomplished his task thoroughly, as, in a very short time, he had killed King Jehoram, his mother Jezebel, besides all that remained of the family of Ahab, all his great men, and his familiar friends, and his priests, until he left none remaining.

The only person of the house of Ahab who appears to have escaped this wholesale massacre was Athaliah, the queen of Judah, who was living in Jerusalem, and who, hearing of the murder of all her relations in Israel, at once decided to kill all the princes of the royal family of Judah, and to make herself the sole monarch. Her bloodthirsty scheme was nearly successful, as all the princes of Judah were killed except Joash, the youngest son of Ahaziah, a child of under a year, who was saved by the high priest, Jehoiada, and hidden in the Temple for six years, during which Athaliah reigned over Judah. Then Jehoiada took the leaders of the army into his confidence, and,

showing them the young prince, arranged with them to overthrow Athaliah and restore the royal family to the throne. The revolt was admirably organized, and, while all the people were assembled in front of the Temple, Joash was brought out suddenly by Jehoiada, and crowned as king, while his grandmother, who seems to have been deserted by all her supporters, was seized and killed outside the gate of the royal palace.

More than a hundred years had passed since the death of Solomon, and the Temple, which had been completely neglected during the reigns of the bad kings, was much in need of repair; Jehoiada, therefore, who acted as regent during the minority of King Joash, took the matter seriously in hand, and the restorations were continued by Joash after he came of age and assumed the regal authority. The Temple worship was resumed, and all went well during the lifetime of Jehoiada, so far as religious matters were concerned; but the defences of Jerusalem appear to have been neglected, as, when Hazael, king of Syria, invaded Judah, he had to be bought off by the surrender of all the treasure that could be found in the city, an ignominious termination to a long and fairly prosperous reign, which was ended by the murder of the king by his own servants in the royal city. He was succeeded peacefully by his son Amaziah, who promptly executed the murderers of his father, and appears to have been regarded as of a just disposition, because he did not kill their children also. Having thus proved his right to the kingdom, he made a successful campaign against the Edomites, of whom ten thousand were taken prisoners and slain. Then, emboldened by his success, Amaziah challenged Joash, king of Israel, to battle. The armies met at Beth Shemesh, where the forces of Judah were completely

defeated, and the king was taken prisoner. Joash promptly advanced on Jerusalem, which he captured, breaking down six hundred feet of the north wall, and sacked the Temple and royal palace. Then, apparently satisfied with his success, he released King Amaziah, and returned with the spoils to Samaria. After reigning fifteen years longer, Amaziah was dethroned by the people of Jerusalem and fled to Lachish, where he was murdered by the conspirators, who made his son Uzziah, a youth of sixteen, king in his stead.

Uzziah, who reigned for fifty-two years, proved himself a man of considerable ability, and greatly raised the reputation of the kingdom of Judah, as he defeated the Philistines and Arabians, drove back the Egyptians, and rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem which had been thrown down by the king of Israel, adding a number of towers to the fortifications. He reorganized the army, and placed it on a satisfactory footing, arming it with up-to-date weapons; besides which he introduced an innovation of considerable importance with reference to the defences of the city, as "he made in Jerusalem engines, invented by cunning men, to be on the towers and upon the bulwarks, to shoot arrows and great stones withal." King Uzziah's precautions are an excellent proof of the truth of the old saying that the best way to ensure peace is to be ready for war, as, during the whole of his long reign, no attempt appears to have been made by any of the surrounding nations to invade Judah or to besiege Jerusalem.

But although no enemy harmed Jerusalem during the time of Uzziah, considerable damage was done to the city by a serious earthquake, which did much injury to the Temple, and, as Josephus informs us, "before the city at a place called Eroge, half the

mountain broke off from the rest on the east, and rolled itself four furlongs, and stood still at the east mountain, till the roads, as well as the king's garden, were affected by the obstructions." Both the Temple and the city were repaired by Jotham, the son and successor of Uzziah, "who was religious towards God, and righteous towards men, and careful of the good of the city, for what parts soever wanted to be repaired or adorned, he magnificently repaired and adorned them. He also took care of the foundations of the cloisters of the Temple, and repaired the walls that were fallen down, and built up great towers, and such as were almost impregnable."

It was not long before the strength of the fortifications of Jerusalem, thus restored by Uzziah and Jotham, were put to a severe test; as, in the reign of the next king, Ahaz, a wicked man, who had forsaken the true God and revived the idolatrous customs of the Canaanites, Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, joined their forces, and invaded Judah, with the intention of capturing Jerusalem. But they found it too difficult to take, and retired, after devastating the country and carrying off as much spoil as they could find. Ahaz, emboldened by his success, moved out of Jerusalem to attack the allies, and was completely defeated with great loss, his own son being among the slain, while numbers of his soldiers, including Elkanah, the general in command, were taken prisoners, and carried away captive to Damascus and Samaria. At the same time, taking advantage of the difficult position in which Ahaz was placed, the Edomites invaded Judah from the east, and the Philistines from the west, the latter people capturing many fortified towns in the low country. Completely in despair, King Ahaz sent messengers in haste to Tiglath-pilneser, the king of Assyria, and

implored him to come to his assistance, a fatal mistake, which finally led to the subjugation of Palestine by the Assyrians.

At first all seemed to promise well, as Tiglath-pilneser received the presents sent to him by Ahaz, and, marching upon Syria, captured Damascus, killed Rezin the king, and sent the inhabitants to Assyria as prisoners. Ahaz proceeded to Damascus to meet the king of Assyria, and there he was so much impressed with the altar of burnt sacrifice in the heathen temple of Damascus, that he had a drawing of it made, which he sent to Jerusalem with instructions to Urijah, the high priest, to have an exact copy of it constructed and placed in the Temple for use instead of the true altar. It would be interesting to know in what respects the new altar differed in appearance from the old, but it appears probable that the real reason why Ahaz erected the former in Jerusalem was, because he had come to the conclusion that the gods of Damascus were more powerful than Jehovah; and, as he proposed to worship them in future, he thought it advisable to have an altar in Jerusalem of a pattern to which these gods were accustomed. The new altar was ready by the time Ahaz returned to the capital, and he then closed the Temple, removed the holy vessels, and established the worship of the false gods in Jerusalem. King Ahaz died, after a miserable reign of sixteen years, years full of trouble for the land of Judah, and of which the only redeeming feature was the successful defence of Jerusalem against the allied forces of Israel and Syria, a defence due not to Ahaz, but to the care that his two predecessors had bestowed on the fortifications, and probably also to the artillery provided by King Uzziah, a novel feature in defensive warfare, and apparently then introduced into Palestine for the first time. The

date of this siege, therefore, B.C. 735, is one to be remembered in the history of Jerusalem.

The evil that Ahaz had brought upon Palestine did not end with his death. He had summoned the Assyrians to his assistance against Syria and Israel, and from that time forward, for many years, the Assyrian monarchy was to be the curse of Palestine, for the Assyrian army did not return to the Euphrates, but settled in Syria and prepared for a further advance against the kingdom of Israel. A few years later all was ready for the advance, and Shalmanezer, who had succeeded Tiglath-pilneser as king of Assyria, invaded Israel, and, in B.C. 721, captured Samaria, the capital, after a siege of three years, when the whole kingdom fell into the hands of Shalmanezer, who took Hoshea, the king of Israel, prisoner, and carried him and his people into Assyria, replacing them by emigrants from Babylon and Persia. The ten tribes were thus to a great extent wiped out, and thenceforward the land of Israel became a part of the great kingdom of Assyria. Phœnicia was also annexed, and Judah only remained in a state of partial independence.

After the death of Ahaz, his son, Hezekiah, succeeded to the throne of Judah. His mother was Abijah, who was apparently a citizen of Jerusalem, and not a princess of the royal house. Hezekiah was as good a man as his father was bad, and it seems probable that his excellent qualities must have been due to the training given him by his mother, as from his father he could have learned nothing but what was evil. It is also probable that in his early years he had come under the influence of a very remarkable man, the prophet Isaiah, who had commenced his life-work in the reign of King Uzziah, and had striven, but striven in vain, to turn Ahaz from his wicked ways. But it was not until Ahaz had died and Hezekiah had become

king that the teaching of Isaiah began to bear fruit, and Jerusalem returned to the worship of the true God.

Immediately upon his accession to the throne, Hezekiah reopened the Temple, and ordered the priests and Levites to purify it, and to recommence the ceremonies in accordance with the Law of Moses. He destroyed all the appliances of idolatry, which had been introduced by his father, and went so far as to break in pieces the brazen serpent, made by Moses, as it had become an object of worship by the people.

Then, having re-established the regular services of the Temple, he made great preparations for the celebration of the ensuing Passover, to which he summoned not only the men of Judah and of Benjamin, but also the men of Israel, asking them to return, *not* to their allegiance to him, as king, but to do homage to Jehovah, who, he pointed out, was not only the God of Judah, but the God of Israel also.

This bold missionary effort had considerable success, for, although the majority of the Israelites mocked at the proposal, a certain number of the men of Asher, Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar and Zebulon, came up to Jerusalem to take part in the Passover. It was a very memorable occasion, as it was the first time since the division of the kingdom that a considerable number of the Israelites came to the Temple to join in worship with their brethren of Benjamin and Judah. Possibly some of these well-disposed persons remained in the land of Judah, and thus escaped the fate of their compatriots, when the latter were utterly subdued by the Assyrians six years later, as has already been related.

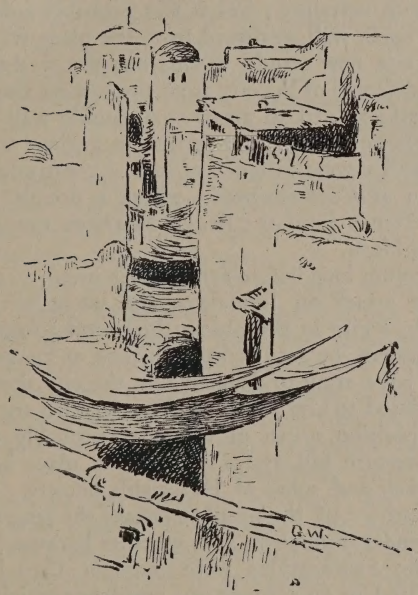
For some years after the capture of Samaria, the Assyrians were engaged in distant wars beyond the Euphrates, and it was not until the fourteenth year

of Hezekiah that Sennacherib, who had succeeded Shalmanezer as king, was able to turn his attention to the conquest of Judah. Advancing through the country east of the Jordan, Sennacherib marched southwards, and captured one after another many of the fortified cities of Judah. Fearing that Jerusalem might fall, Hezekiah sent an embassy to the king of Assyria, offering his submission, and, by order of the king, gave him all the treasure he could find in Jerusalem. But this only gave a temporary respite, and Hezekiah soon realized that Sennacherib was determined to seize Jerusalem, and treat it in the same way as Samaria had been treated by Shalmanezer. He therefore prepared for defence, rebuilt the walls where it was necessary, and strengthened the citadel of Zion, in the royal city, which would have been the last resort in case of a siege.

He also took special precautions with regard to the water supply, and closed in the two springs, which have already been described, that in the Valley of Kedron, east of the royal city, and that in the central valley, both of which were outside the walls, and therefore liable to capture by the enemy. From the springs, conduits were made, conducting the water under the fortifications, and into the city. Of these conduits it is very probable that one is the famous Siloam tunnel, which still exists and can be visited, leading the water from the spring at the Virgin's Fountain to the Pool of Siloam. It was in this tunnel that the Siloam inscription was found, now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, which relates, in Semitic characters, how the parties of workmen, advancing from each end of the tunnel, met half-way and joined the headings. The conduit in the central valley, which brought the water down on the west side of the royal city, is probably the conduit which

was discovered by Sir Charles Warren in 1867, near the south-west corner of the Haram enclosure.

This conduit, which is four feet wide and twelve feet deep, is now covered with seventy feet of rubbish and



INSIDE THE DAMASCUS GATE

is, unfortunately, quite inaccessible, but, if the traveller places himself opposite the springing of the old arch commonly called Robinson's Arch, from the name of the writer who first called attention to it, and stands at a distance of fourteen feet from the great wall, he will be right over the conduit, and will be able to

realize how very different the aspect of this part of the city is now, to what is was before the deep central valley was filled up with debris.

Besides restoring the existing fortifications, Hezekiah built an outer wall at some point which cannot be fixed with certainty; but it was probably a doubling of the north wall, eastward from the place where the Jaffa Gate now stands, as this was the weakest part of the defences of the city from the earliest times, and the most exposed to attack. A double wall of this kind was not an unusual feature in ancient fortifications, and a good instance of such a construction can be seen at Constantinople, where a double line of walls extends from the Sea of Marmora towards the Golden Horn.

It was not long before Sennacherib began to prepare for the attack on Jerusalem, and when he was at Lachish, a city in the plains thirty miles south-west of Jerusalem, he sent Rabshakeh, one of his generals, with a large army to demand that the city should be surrendered to him at once. The Assyrian army took up a position north of the city, probably on the north-western hill, and a parley took place between Rabshakeh and some of Hezekiah's officers. Acting on the advice of the prophet Isaiah, the king refused to surrender Jerusalem, and, whether because he saw that the fortifications were stronger than he had anticipated, or on account of a pestilence which broke out among his troops, Rabshakeh raised the siege, and withdrew his army. Shortly afterwards Sennacherib gave up the attempt to capture Judah, and returned to Nineveh, where he was assassinated in the temple of his gods.

After the retreat of Sennacherib, Hezekiah was left in peace for the remainder of his reign, and continued to act as a good king until the end of his life. Only

one foolish act is recorded of him, and this was due solely to vanity, as, when the king of Babylon sent ambassadors to congratulate him on his recovery from a severe illness, Hezekiah imprudently showed them all the treasure in Jerusalem. For this he was very properly rebuked by the prophet Isaiah, who realized that a full account would be taken to the king of Babylon, and that, sooner or later, another attempt would be made to capture Jerusalem, and that, the next time, it would be successful. Hezekiah, rather selfishly, it must be acknowledged, was satisfied with the assurance that there would be peace in his days.

Hezekiah was succeeded by his son Manasseh, who became king at the early age of twelve, and reigned for fifty-five years. Unfortunately for Jerusalem, he returned to all the evil practices of his grandfather Ahaz, built altars to the heathen gods of Babylon in the Temple itself, and murdered those who objected to his wickedness. For a part of his reign he appears to have been a vassal of the king of Assyria, and passed a considerable time in Babylon, but whether he was taken there as a prisoner, or went to pay tribute, is a little uncertain. According to Josephus, he was taken by treachery, and lived in Babylon in a miserable condition; but, however this may have been, his experience had a good effect upon him, as, on his return to Jerusalem, he purified the Temple, removed the idolatrous altars, and restored the worship of Jehovah. He also improved the defences of Jerusalem by the addition of an outer wall to the royal city, on the west side of the central valley, and also strengthened the eastern wall on the side of the Valley of the Kedron. Although it is not directly stated in the records, it is pretty clear that the object of Manasseh's fortifications was to secure the safety of the royal city, even if the civil city on

the western hill fell into the hands of the enemy. Amon, his son, who succeeded him, had a short and inglorious reign of two years, when he was murdered by his own servants in the royal palace. The conspirators, in their turn, were killed by the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who made his son, Josiah, a boy of eight years of age, king of Judah. Josiah must have had excellent counsellors, for, even in his youth, he restored the worship of the true God, and ordered the destruction of all the idol altars, not only in Jerusalem and Judah, but throughout the land of Israel. In the eighteenth year of his reign he thoroughly repaired the Temple, and kept the Passover in a fashion which had not been seen in Jerusalem for centuries, a Passover which was attended not only by the inhabitants of Judah and Benjamin, but by many persons from the land of Israel also.

Just as the reforms introduced by Hezekiah had been greatly assisted by the teaching of the prophet Isaiah, so were the radical changes made by Josiah aided by the words of the prophet Jeremiah, who commenced his public career in the thirteenth year of that king's reign, and continued to preach in Jerusalem until the capture and destruction of the city by Nebuchadnezzar. The whole of Josiah's life was devoted to the restoration of the Temple and the purification of the city and the land from idol worship, and his only attempt to interfere with international affairs was an unfortunate one, as when Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, was marching north through Palestine against the king of Assyria, Josiah, possibly under orders from Assyria, went out to resist him, and was defeated and killed at the battle of Megiddo. Then Judah became tributary to the king of Egypt, who deposed and made prisoner Jehoahaz, the lawful heir, and set up Jehoiakim,

brother of the latter, nominally as king, but really as the vassal of Egypt.

For eight years Jerusalem remained tributary to Egypt, and then Nebuchadnezzar advanced in great force, took possession of Palestine and drove back the Egyptians. The only effect on Jerusalem was that it changed masters, and had to pay tribute to Babylon instead of Egypt. After three years Jehoiakim stopped the tribute, trusting to the Egyptians to save him from the wrath of Nebuchadnezzar, and disregarded the warnings of the prophet Jeremiah, who implored him not to revolt, but without effect, until Nebuchadnezzar sent an army to compel him to submit. The accounts of this period in the Bible are rather difficult to understand, but, according to Josephus, whose résumé of the history of the time is the clearest, Jehoiakim admitted Nebuchadnezzar into Jerusalem in the hope that he would be forgiven if he submitted humbly. But in this expectation he was disappointed, for the king of Babylon, as soon as he had entered the city, broke faith, and massacred a large number of people, including King Jehoiakim himself, whose body was cast over the walls and not buried. Three thousand of the most important of the inhabitants were carried to Babylon as captives, and among them was the prophet Ezekiel, then a young man.

Jehoiakim was succeeded as king by his son Jehoiachin, who occupied the throne for three months only, when he was sent as a prisoner to Babylon, and replaced by his brother Zedekiah, as Nebuchadnezzar seemed to believe that the latter would be his obedient servant. For better security Zedekiah was made to take a solemn oath that he would hold Jerusalem for Babylon, that he would make no innovations, and that he would make no treaty with

the king of Egypt. Judah was thus made a kind of buffer state between the kingdoms of Babylon and of Egypt.

Zedekiah, who was the last king of the royal house to sit on the throne of David, remained true to his promises for eight years; after which, notwithstanding his oath and the remonstrance of the prophet Jeremiah, who pointed out the folly of trying to shake off the yoke of Babylon, he joined a league with the Egyptians. Nebuchadnezzar, as foretold by Jeremiah, immediately sent an army into Palestine, and utterly defeated an Egyptian force which was marching to the assistance of Jerusalem. The siege of Jerusalem was then opened, and carried on with the utmost vigour for eighteen months. The attack was made on the north side of the city, and banks were thrown up facing the walls, upon which engines of war were placed to break down the defences and terrify the garrison. It speaks much for the strength of the fortifications of Jerusalem that it was able to stand so long a siege, conducted with all the force of the great kingdom of Babylon. But the end came at last; the north wall was taken, and the besiegers entered the city, when Zedekiah and his generals fled out of the south gate of the royal city near the Pool of Siloam, which seems to have been overlooked by the enemy, and endeavoured to escape over the Jordan, leaving Jerusalem to its fate. But the attempt failed, as they were pursued and overtaken at Jericho, before crossing the river. Then Zedekiah was brought captive to Nebuchadnezzar, who had the sons of the king murdered before his eyes, then blinded him, and sent him in chains to Babylon, where he died.

King Zedekiah having been thus disposed of, Nebuchadnezzar sent Nebuzaradan, the commander of

his guard, with orders utterly to destroy Jerusalem, and to remove the population out of it, but to leave the country people on the land. It would seem that his object was not to ruin the country, as that would have had the effect of reducing the amount of tribute payable by Judah, but to make it impossible for the city of Jerusalem ever again to become a centre of revolt against the rule of Babylon. Nebuzaradan carried out his instructions in a thorough manner; for, as recorded in the second Book of Kings, "he burnt the House of the Lord, and the king's house; and all the houses of Jerusalem, even every great house, burnt he with fire. And all the army of the Chaldeans, that were with the captain of the guard, brake down the walls of Jerusalem round about. And the residue of the people that were left in the city, and those that fell away, that fell to the king of Babylon, and the residue of the multitude, did Nebuzaradan, the captain of the guard, carry away captive. But the captain of the guard left of the poorest of the land to be vinedressers and husbandmen."

Then all the treasures that were left in the Temple were carried away; the great pillars of brass, which Solomon had set up in front of the porch, and the brazen sea; everything that was of any value was taken to Babylon. What became of the Ark it is impossible to say; whether, as is very likely, it had disappeared during the reign of one of the idolatrous kings, or whether, as a tradition says, it was hidden by the prophet Jeremiah, no man knows. All that is certain is that it has never been heard of since the complete destruction of the Temple by King Nebuchadnezzar.

So passed away the city of Jerusalem and the

dynasty of the House of David in B.C. 586, after an existence of more than four centuries; the Temple was in ruins, the fortifications overthrown, the palaces burnt, and the inhabitants driven out. Then the city lay desolate for many years.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE CAPTIVITY TO KING HEROD THE GREAT

JERUSALEM lay desolate. It was the city that was destroyed, and the inhabitants of the city that were carried away captive; but, on the other hand, it would appear that the countryfolk were not much interfered with, and probably, after the war was at an end, were allowed to return to their homes, to till the land, and pay tribute to Babylon. Any of the poorer people, too, who may have been left in the city, had nothing to do, when the Temple was destroyed, the royal court abolished, and the upper classes, for whom they had worked, taken away; and they would most likely have abandoned Jerusalem also, and scattered over the country to avoid starvation. Nothing remained of the city but a skeleton; the north wall, the line of fortifications round the Temple, the west wall, and the east wall, were more or less completely overthrown, and only a part of the south wall was left standing.

Jerusalem had been so completely destroyed that, when Nebuchadnezzar appointed Gedaliah to be governor of the province of Judah, the latter established the seat of government, not at Jerusalem, but at Mizpah, a town some miles to the north, and possibly at the place now called Neby Samwil. The prophet Jeremiah also, who was kindly treated by Nebuzaradan, took up his abode at Mizpah, and there he may have written the

Book of Lamentations, in which he bewails so pathetically the sad fate of Jerusalem, and which gives so vivid a picture of the desolation of his beloved city—

" How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people!
How is she become as a widow!
She that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces.
How is she become tributary!
She weepeth sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks;
Among all her lovers she hath none to comfort her;
All her friends have dealt treacherously with her;
They are become her enemies.
Judah is gone into captivity because of affliction, and because of great servitude.
She dwelleth among the heathen, she findeth no rest;
All her persecutors overtook her within the straits.
The ways of Zion do mourn, because none come to the solemn assembly;
All her gates are desolate, her priests do sigh.
. . . . . .
And from the daughter of Zion all her majesty is departed.
Her princes are become like harts that find no pasture.
And they are gone without strength before the pursuer."

From this time forward for nearly fifty years the history of Jerusalem is a blank; it had, in fact, no history, and it had ceased to be of the least political importance. It should be mentioned that the full period of the captivity, which is usually taken as seventy years, is counted, not from the total destruc-

tion of the city, but from its first occupation by Nebuchadnezzar, during the reign of Jehoiakim (*see* p. 53), when a large number of the inhabitants were carried away captive into Babylon.

Considering how completely Jerusalem had been demolished, it might reasonably have been supposed that it would never recover; but a change was soon to come in its fortunes, a change from a quite unexpected quarter. In B.C. 539, Cyrus, the great king of Persia, conquered Babylon, and overthrew the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar, so that Palestine again changed masters, and became tributary to the Persians. Shortly after his capture of Babylon, Cyrus reversed the policy of his predecessors with regard to Judæa, appointed Zerubbabel, a prince of the house of David, as governor of Jerusalem, and gave permission to as many of the exiles as wished, to return to their beloved city, and to rebuild the Temple of Jehovah.

It is not clear what influenced Cyrus so strongly in favour of the Jews, and it is possible that they may have assisted him in the conquest of Babylon; but, according to the records, it was his own idea, and the proclamation, which he issued on the subject, began as follows—

"Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, All the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord, the God of heaven, given me; and he hath charged me to build him an house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whosoever there is among you of all his people, his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord, the God of Israel, which is in Jerusalem." [1]

Not only did Cyrus allow Zerubbabel, the prince, and Joshua, the high priest, with about fifty thousand

[1] Ezra i. 2, 3.

of the exiles and their servants, to return to Jerusalem to rebuild the Temple, but, with a marvellous generosity, he restored to them all the treasures of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away as spoil to Babylon.

On their arrival in Jerusalem, the first care of Zerubbabel and Joshua was to rebuild the altar in its old position, the site originally selected by King David, and to recommence the services of sacrifice and prayer, as laid down in the Law of Moses. All round them the buildings of the Temple and of its courts lay in grass-grown ruins, but they did not wait for the reconstruction of these, as they knew that it was the Altar, not the Temple, that was the real centre of Jewish worship. Then they cleared away the ruins of the great Temple of Solomon, collected building materials, and, in the second year of their return from Babylon, laid the foundations of a new Temple, following, no doubt, as closely as they could, the lines of the original building. The young men shouted for joy to think that there would once again be a Temple of Jehovah in Jerusalem, while the old men, who had been carried away captive fifty years before, wept when they remembered the magnificence of the building that had vanished.

As soon as the foundation had been laid, the real difficulties of Zerubbabel and his followers commenced, as the heathen inhabitants of the country, angry because of the favour with which the Jews had been treated by Cyrus, conspired to stop the work, and succeeded in frustrating the good intentions of the king during his lifetime. His successor Cambyses also, impressed by the reports sent to him from Palestine, went a step further, and gave definite orders that all building work at Jerusalem should be stopped; and, as there was no higher authority to whom Zerub-

babel could appeal, the reconstruction of the Temple had to cease for the time.

But, after Darius succeeded to the throne of Persia, Zerubbabel, who was strongly supported by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, took courage and set to work once more on the rebuilding of the Temple. Fortunately, the Persian governor of the province, Tattenai by name, was a just man, who endeavoured to carry out his duties fairly; and, when complaints were made to him about Zerubbabel's action, he went to Jerusalem to inquire into the business himself. Then he did not stop the building works, but sent a very proper letter to Darius, proposing that the king should ascertain whether it was really true that Cyrus had authorized the reconstruction of the Temple, and asking for instructions.

King Darius, on his part, also acted with great discretion, as he had search made, and found in the archives the decree of Cyrus which has already been referred to. He then made a further decree in confirmation of that issued by Cyrus, and sent orders to Tattenai to carry it into effect. Zerubbabel was thus able to proceed without further hindrance, and the Temple was completed and dedicated with great ceremony in B.C. 516, twenty years after it had been commenced in the reign of Cyrus. Of this, the second Temple, practically nothing is known, but, as has already been mentioned, it was probably built on the same lines as that of Solomon, though less magnificently and of smaller stones; it is also likely that a good deal of the old material was used in its construction. The second Temple was finished seventy years after the demolition of the first by Nebuchadnezzar, and this period may have been regarded by the priests, though not quite correctly, as the period of the captivity.

There was one important change as regards the buildings on the eastern hill of Jerusalem when the Temple was finished. The first Temple had been a kind of annexe to the magnificent royal palace, built by Solomon; but, now that the latter and the castle of Zion, south of the Temple, had been destroyed, the Temple, with the courts surrounding it, was independent of any other building, and formed a sort of citadel, and the only place of defence for the Jews, as the walls of the city had been overthrown and had not been restored by Zerubbabel. After the completion of the Temple, Zerubbabel disappears from history, and no mention is made of another civil governor of Jerusalem being appointed in his place. The high priest appears to have taken the position of the chief authority in Jerusalem, and was the person responsible to the Persian king for the city and surrounding district, the Temple being the seat of government. This change from a civil to a religious system of government, and the absorption of all power by the priests, had considerable influence on the further history of the city.

Matters seem to have gone on quietly at Jerusalem under the new regime for about sixty years, when there was a further emigration of Jews from Babylon under the leadership of Ezra, a priest, who appears to have been a friend of the Artaxerxes at that time king of Persia. Ezra had heard of certain evil practices of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, such as intermarrying with the heathen inhabitants of the country, and his expedition to Jerusalem was of a missionary character, and had nothing to do with building construction. Artaxerxes appears to have taken much interest in Ezra's undertaking, and gave him letters to the Persian governors west of the Jordan, ordering them to afford him every possible assistance in placing the Temple worship on a satisfactory footing.

A few years later, in B.C. 445, another Jew, Nehemiah, who was cup-bearer to the Persian king, started from Babylon for Jerusalem on a mission of quite a different character, having obtained a concession of great importance from the king. Nehemiah had been much distressed by the accounts given him by travellers from Jerusalem as to the state of the city, and to learn that nothing had been done to rebuild the fortifications since their destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, one hundred and forty years previously. He therefore took advantage of his position at court to obtain authority from Artaxerxes to proceed to Jerusalem and rebuild the walls, and the castle of Zion, which adjoined the Temple. Not only did Artaxerxes give the required permission, but he also provided Nehemiah with a military escort to conduct him safely to Judæa, and authorized the Persian officials in the country to provide him with materials for the work.

IN HARAT DEIR TUFFAH

Immediately on his arrival in Jerusalem, Nehemiah began by making a personal survey of the wall; he

went out of the city by the Valley Gate, near the south-west corner of the city, and not far from the present British cemetery; then followed the lines of the south wall outside, and endeavoured to enter the town by the Fountain Gate in the central valley, near the Pool of Siloam. But the walls at this point were so ruinous that he could not pass, so he continued round the east wall in the Kedron valley and then returned and re-entered the city by the Valley Gate. Having thus gained some knowledge of the situation, he laid his plans before Eliashib, the high priest, and the other notables, and asked for their assistance in the rebuilding of the walls. This he was able to do with authority, as Artaxerxes had given him a commission as governor of the Jews in Jerusalem, a position he held for twelve years.

Then Nehemiah organized the working parties, and completed the restoration of the walls in fifty-two days, after which he made the people walk round them in a solemn procession, which ended in a service of dedication in the Temple. In his own account of the transactions, he gives three different descriptions of the fortifications, which are of the greatest possible value, in enabling us to understand the city of Jerusalem, as it then existed, and which make it quite clear that it covered exactly the same area as in the time of Solomon. These descriptions are: firstly, the account of his personal survey; secondly, the enumeration of the working parties on the different parts of the wall; and, thirdly, the description of the course taken by the two processions of inspection when the work was completed. Of these three accounts the second is the most complete. In this, Nehemiah commences with the Sheep Gate, which was north of, and close to, the Temple; this gate, being intimately connected with the Temple service, as through it the animals destined

for sacrifice were brought into the enclosure, was naturally repaired by the high priest, Eliashib, and the other priests. Nehemiah then describes the north wall of the fortifications on Mount Moriah, in which there was a tower called Meah, and a second tower, called Hananeel, which must have stood at the point where the north wall turned southwards. Thence the wall must have followed approximately the present line of the west wall of the Haram enclosure, until it met with the old north wall of the city, built originally by King David. This north wall, which was by far the most important in the defences of the city, as it was the most liable to attack, having high ground in front of it, ran from some point near the existing Wailing Place of the Jews, westward towards the Jaffa Gate. In the north wall there were three gates, of which the first, the Fish Gate, was on the street leading down the deep central valley to Siloam; the second, the Old Gate, was at a point near where David Street crosses the main bazaars, which run north and south through the city; the third, the Gate of Ephraim, afterwards called the Gate Gennath by Josephus, was about half-way from the Old Gate to the north-west corner of the fortifications. At the north-west corner was the house of the governor of Jerusalem, now represented by the Turkish citadel, and from this point the wall turned south, probably along the same lines as the existing west wall, but continuing as far as the late Bishop Gobat's school. Here the wall turned south-east, and went on to the Valley Gate, of which the existence had been forgotten, until it was discovered by Dr. F. J. Bliss during his explorations in 1894–7. From this gate, the wall, which had not been much damaged, took an easterly direction towards Siloam, until it came to two gates in the central valley, not far apart, called the Dung Gate, and the

Fountain Gate. These were the south gates of the city, and, at first sight, it seems curious that there were two gates so close together; a possible explanation may be that, while the Dung Gate served as the southern entrance to the civil city on the western hill, the Fountain Gate was the south gate of the royal city on the eastern hill. It was through this gate that King Zedekiah made his escape, when the army of Nebuchadnezzar entered Jerusalem from the north.

The description of the repair of the walls by Nehemiah, after passing the Fountain Gate, is difficult to understand, and places are mentioned which, with our present knowledge, cannot possibly be located. But, from his account, it would seem that the walls on both sides of the royal city were repaired, as far north as the " tower that stood out from the upper house of the king," apparently another name for the castle of Zion. The outer wall, after going round the Pool of Siloam, went nearly due north on the west side of the Kedron valley, and joined the wall of the defences of the Temple, not far from where the Golden Gate now stands. In this eastern portion of the wall three gates are mentioned, but their positions can only be conjectured, as they are quite lost; these were: the Water Gate, possibly near the fountain of the Virgin; the Horse Gate, in the proximity of the south-east corner of the Haram enclosure; and the East Gate, somewhere in the wall east of the Temple. The greater part of the east wall was repaired by the priests, who had built their houses in the vicinity of the Temple and in what had formerly been the royal city. The restoration of the walls by Nehemiah must have been a dramatic sight, and was carried out with considerable difficulty, as, notwithstanding the orders of the overlord, the king of Persia, the people

of the country did their best to stop the work, and the repairing parties had to keep their weapons ready for immediate use, and half the men held their spears, while the other half worked on the fortifications.

As soon as the reconstruction of the walls had been completed, Nehemiah detailed guards for the different gates, and appointed Hananiah to have charge of the castle of Zion, and to have military command of the garrison, with Hanani, Nehemiah's brother, as his coadjutor. Thus, once more, after an interval of one hundred and forty years, Jerusalem had risen from its ashes, and become a fortified city. But how different from the Jerusalem of the King! The royal palaces, the great houses of the princes and notables, the dwellings of the people had all been swept away, and there were desolate wastes, where, before the captivity, there were busy streets and crowded market-places. As Nehemiah puts it: "Now the city was wide and large: but the people were few therein, and the houses were not builded."[1] His next care, therefore, was to repeople the city, and this he effected in rather an ingenious manner, as he made the Jews living in the country of Judæa cast lots, and persuaded them to agree that one family out of every ten should take up their abode in Jerusalem. The plan proved very successful, for, by this means, the city was once more filled with inhabitants.

During the period that followed the rebuilding of the Temple by Zerubbabel, and the reconstruction of the fortifications by Nehemiah, Jerusalem continued to be tributary to Persia; but there is no evidence that a civil governor was appointed by the king to succeed Nehemiah, and the high priest appears

[1] Nehemiah vii. 4.

to have been the head of the local administration, probably assisted by a council. Of the history of the city during this period little is known, and it is generally

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assumed that it lived in peace, and steadily increased in wealth and importance. The only incident mentioned by Josephus is, that in the reign of a certain king of Persia, possibly Artaxerxes Ochus, in B.C. 348, the high priest John quarrelled with and murdered his

brother in the Temple; and that, in consequence, a Persian general, Bagoses, occupied Jerusalem with an army, entered the Temple, and increased the amount of tribute payable by the Jews.

The greatness of the Persian monarchy was then drawing to a close, and in B.C. 334 Alexander, king of Macedon, marching eastwards, crossed the Hellespont into Asia Minor, defeated the Persians at the battles of the Granicus and of Issus, and then, rapidly advancing through Syria, captured Damascus, Tyre and Sidon. From Tyre he sent a message to the high priest Jaddua at Jerusalem, to order his submission and the transfer of his allegiance from King Darius III, and commanding him to pay tribute to him. Receiving a reply from Jaddua that he must remain faithful to the king of Persia, on account of the oath which he had taken, Alexander continued his march southwards with the intention of capturing Jerusalem.

Then, according to Josephus, a very remarkable incident took place. Jaddua, in despair at the destruction apparently destined for the city, prayed earnestly to God with all the people; and, in a dream, was ordered not to make any attempt at defence, but to march out with the priests dressed in white, and to meet the conqueror before he reached Jerusalem. So, when Alexander with his army arrived upon the heights of Scopus, and, looking down upon the city, expected to see preparations for resistance; much to his astonishment the north gate, probably the Sheep Gate on the Temple hill, was thrown open, and a great procession came forth, led by the high priest Jaddua, clad in purple and scarlet, with the mitre on his head, and bearing the name of Jehovah on his breast. Behind him followed the priests in fine linen robes, and then a great multitude of people, dressed in white,

and all marched slowly up the hill to meet the king.

Then, to the surprise of the Grecian army, Alexander did not wait for the arrival of the procession, but went down to receive it: and, on meeting the high priest, saluted with great reverence. Turning to his army he explained that it was not the high priest whom he thus saluted, but the great God whom the high priest worshipped, and whose name he bore; he went on to say that, before leaving Macedonia, he had seen in a vision a person exactly resembling the high priest, who had informed him that his expedition would be successful and that he would overcome the Persians. Alexander then took Jaddua by the hand, and entered peacefully with him into the Temple, and Jerusalem became tributary to the Greeks instead of the Persians.

All went well with Jerusalem until the death of Alexander, in B.C. 323, when his eastern empire was divided among his generals; Perdiccas took Babylon and was shortly succeeded by Seleucus; Antigonus had Asia Minor and Syria for his share; while Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, made himself king of Egypt. Thus the comparative peace which the city had enjoyed for two centuries under the Persians and the Greeks came to an end; once more, as in the old times, Palestine became the battlefield of rival nations; and it must have been difficult for the high priest to know whom he should regard as his master. Ptolemy, shortly after his accession, occupied Judæa, took possession of Jerusalem by stratagem on a Sabbath day, placed an Egyptian garrison in the citadel, and carried many of the Jews as captives to Egypt. Then Antigonus got the upper hand in Palestine, and, after his death in B.C. 301, Seleucus, king of Babylon, conquered Syria, while Palestine fell again under the power of

Egypt. Egypt was the suzerain power until B.C. 198, when Antiochus the Great defeated Ptolemy IV, and the Jews gave their submission to Antiochus, and assisted him in driving the Egyptian garrison out of the citadel. This was the fortress south of the Temple, on the site of the old castle of Zion, which had been repaired by Nehemiah, and had possibly been rebuilt either by the Persians or the Egyptians while masters of Jerusalem. This citadel, afterwards known as the Akra, a Greek word signifying a fortress, was destined to play a very important part in the history of the city during the terrible times through which it was to pass during the succeeding years. It is therefore important clearly to understand its position on the eastern hill, on which it occupied the highest point, between the Temple and that part of Jerusalem which had formerly been the royal city of the kings of Judah, but which, for the future, will be called the lower city. The name of "lower city" is given to it by Josephus, to distinguish it from the "upper city" on the western hill, which had been the civil city in the times of the Kings. The two cities were still, as when Jerusalem was first founded by King David, separated from one another by the deep central valley, but enclosed within the same outer wall.

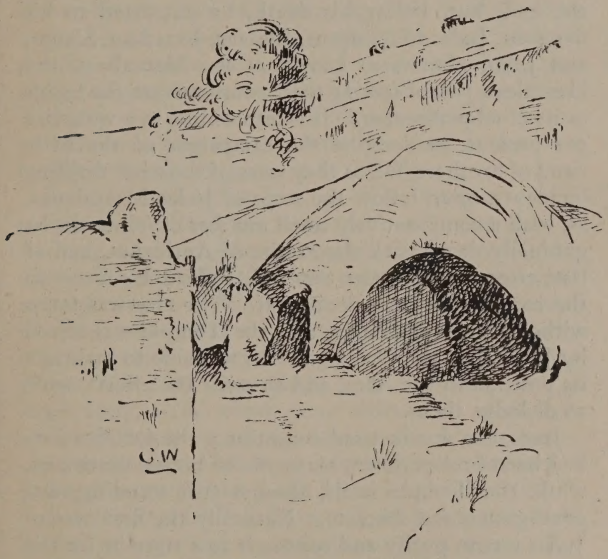
Antiochus the Great seems to have treated Jerusalem in a very kindly manner; he contributed to the maintenance of the Temple, assisted in providing animals for the sacrifices, and diminished the tribute payable by the Jews. During his reign, and that of Seleucus, the next king of Syria, the city was left in peace and increased in prosperity. But in B.C. 175, Seleucus was unfortunately succeeded by his brother Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, a man of the most vicious disposition, and, with his accession to the throne, the troubles of Jerusalem recommenced. At this period the Jews

were divided into two parties, of which the one was in favour of maintaining the ancient customs of their nation, while the other, composed of persons who wished to be more up-to-date, desired to introduce the manners and customs of the Greeks. King Antiochus favoured the latter party, and appointed one of them to be high priest, after expelling Jason, the legitimate high priest, from Jerusalem. Returning from a successful campaign against Egypt, the king entered the city, the gates being opened to him by the Greek faction, and, after massacring a large number of the inhabitants, he returned to Antioch, his capital.

Two years later, in B.C. 168, Antiochus made preparations for another invasion of Egypt, but, being ordered by the Roman senate to desist, he again turned his attention to Jerusalem, and, having obtained possession of the city by treachery, carried out a policy of destruction almost equal to that of Nebuchadnezzar. The walls of the city were broken down, and many of the houses were reduced to ruins; while, on the other hand, the Akra, the citadel held by the Greek garrison, was enlarged and strengthened. The Temple itself met with the worst treatment, and an idolatrous altar was placed upon the ancient site of the altar of Jehovah, upon which swine were offered in sacrifice. The Jews were compelled by every kind of cruelty to abandon the worship of the true God, and to adopt the idolatrous rites favoured by Antiochus; the day of the desecration of the Temple, the 25th of the month Kislev (B.C. 168), has, ever since, been remembered with horror by the Jewish nation in every part of the world.

But it was not in Jerusalem only that this cruel policy was enforced, as officials were sent throughout the country of Judæa to promulgate the orders of the

king, and to make the adoption of heathen worship absolute and complete. The Jews resisted to the best of their ability; thousands were put to death, and many fled into the deserts and hid themselves in caves, whither they were pursued by the soldiers of Antiochus



RUINS IN NORTH QUARTER OF CITY

and massacred without mercy. Fortunately the very excess of the king's policy led to a remedy, for, as had frequently happened before in the worst times of Jewish history, a man arose with sufficient strength of character to excite the people to revolt against the monstrous edicts of Antiochus.

This man was Mattathias, a priest of the family of

Hasmoneus, resident in Jerusalem, who had fled to Modin in the west country of Judæa, and who succeeded in commencing that insurrection, known as the revolt of the Maccabees, which overthrew the power of Antiochus in Judæa, and restored the worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem. Mattathias did not live to see the end, but, before his death, he entrusted to his five sons, Judas Maccabæus, Eleazar, Jonathan, Simon, and John, afterwards known as the Maccabees, the Herculean task of freeing their country from the hands of its cruel persecutor. It is impossible, in a work like the present, to describe the campaigns of the little band of brothers, full as they were of the most thrilling incidents, or to follow the steps of Judas Maccabæus, as, with a comparatively small number of followers, he gradually drove back the armies of Antiochus, and at last, after many battles, was able to lead his forces to the recovery of Jerusalem itself. The city was taken without much difficulty, and the Temple was seized by Judas, but the Greek garrison was able to maintain its position in the Akra, and to resist the efforts made to dislodge them.

Jerusalem was in a sad condition; the fortifications had been broken down, many of the houses destroyed, while the Temple itself, though still standing, was grass-grown and desolate. Naturally the first care of Judas was to purify and restore it to a state fit for the resumption of public worship; the altar, which had been defiled by the sacrifice of swine upon it, was taken down and removed, and a new altar was constructed on the old foundations; new vessels were provided for the services, and, on the 25th of Kislev (B.C. 165), exactly three years from the date of the desolation, the lamps were relighted, and sacrifices were again offered in accordance with the regulations of the Law. On that day was instituted the Festival of the Hanu-

kah, or of Lights, a festival still observed universally by Jews, in remembrance of the removal of the curse of the Greeks, and the rededication of the Temple. The great work was not carried out without considerable difficulty, as the Greek garrison in the Akra did their best to hinder its progress, and the Jews had to labour like the men of Nehemiah, with their weapons in their hands, ready at any moment to resist a hostile attack. It was a curious kind of double siege, for, while the garrison in the Akra besieged the Jews in the Temple, the Jews in the Temple, which, with the walls surrounding it, also formed a kind of fortress, besieged the Greek garrison in the Akra.

Besides the restoration of the Temple, Judas rebuilt the walls of the city, and made it capable of resisting attack, but he was never able to capture the Akra. He succeeded, however, in putting the garrison to great straits, and they sent to Antiochus Eupator, who had succeeded the wicked Epiphanes as king, imploring him to send them assistance against the Jews. The king accordingly entered Judæa with a large army, with which were thirty-two elephants, with the intention of wiping out the Maccabæans; and, after a severe battle, in which Eleazar, brother of Judas, was crushed to death by an elephant which he had attacked and killed, Judas was obliged to withdraw his troops to Jerusalem, and prepare for a siege. The king, however, apparently thinking the city too strong to attack, retreated northwards, and left the Jews in comparative peace for two years, after which the conflict was renewed. In one of the battles which ensued, the brave Judas was slain, and his glorious career was ended. His adversary Antiochus met with a similar fate, as he was killed by Demetrius, who made himself king of Syria, and was, in his turn, killed by Alexander, a son of Antiochus Epiphanes. Then

Demetrius, a son of the first Demetrius, revolted, and for a time there were two rival kings of Syria.

After the death of Judas Maccabæus, Jonathan, his brother, succeeded him as high priest, and continued the war against the Syrian army. Hearing of the troubled state of affairs in Syria, he sent an embassy to Demetrius proposing peace, and asking him to remove the Greek garrison from the Akra. But this effort proved unavailing, and the garrison continued to be a thorn in the side of the people of Jerusalem; in order, however, to reduce its evil effect, Jonathan and his brother Simon built a wall, so as to isolate it, and shut it off completely from the city.

It must be acknowledged that the stubborn defence of the Akra by the Greek garrison was a very notable feat, and, from a military point of view, worthy of the highest praise. The maintenance of a supply of provisions, surrounded as they were by desperate enemies, must have been a very difficult matter; but as regards water they were better off, as, under the citadel were enormous tanks, cut in the rock, which still exist in the Haram enclosure, not far from the mosque of the Akra. These cisterns probably were commenced in very early times for the water supply of the old castle of Zion, but it is likely that they were enlarged to their present size by the Greek garrison during their long siege by the Maccabæans.

Jonathan met his death by treachery, and was succeeded as high priest by Simon, the last of the noble band of brothers, as John had been killed some time previously. Simon was, in some respects, the greatest of the Maccabæans, and, soon after he had succeeded to the government, he made a vigorous assault upon, and captured, the terrible Akra, thus freeing Jerusalem altogether from the tyranny to which it had been

subjected for so many years. Then, fearing that at some future time it might be used again for the oppression of Jerusalem, he destroyed the fortress completely, and cut away the eminence upon which it had stood, thus making the ground occupied by the Temple the highest part of the eastern hill. The work of demolition occupied three years, according to Josephus, and the debris was thrown into the valleys on both sides, where it still remains, as shown by the explorations of Sir Charles Warren. It is interesting to observe that this complete demolition of the Akra by Simon has added materially to the difficulties of Jerusalem topography, and has led to much controversy, there being at least five different views as to the position occupied by the Greek fortress. It would take far too much space to discuss these different views, and, in the short account given above, that one has been adopted which appears to be most in accord with the descriptions in the Books of the Maccabees and in Josephus, and also with the formation of the ground, so far as this is at present known from underground explorations.

Having completely destroyed the fortress of the Akra, a stronghold which, under various forms and different names, had existed since the times of the Jebusites, Simon greatly strengthened the walls surrounding the Temple, making the latter practically the citadel of Jerusalem. Then, after a very successful career of eight years, Simon, like all his brothers, met with a violent end, being murdered by Ptolemy, his son-in-law, a sad conclusion to a very useful life. He was succeeded as high priest in B.C. 135 by his son John Hyrcanus, and it was not very long after his accession to the high priesthood before the walls of Jerusalem, as strengthened and improved by the Maccabæans, were put to the test of a siege, as Antiochus Sidetes,

who had succeeded to the throne of Syria, marched southwards with a large army and invested the city. This siege seems to have been conducted with an unusual amount of good feeling, as, when John Hyrcanus suggested that there should be a seven days' truce on the occasion of the Feast of Tabernacles, Antiochus agreed, and entertained his own army at a feast also. This short cessation of hostilities led in the end to a treaty of peace, in accordance with which the high priest gave a subsidy to the king, and the latter withdrew from the siege of Jerusalem. Not long afterwards, when engaged in war against Arsaces, king of Parthia, Antiochus Sidetes was defeated and slain, and was succeeded by his brother Demetrius, who left Jerusalem in peace.

John Hyrcanus governed Jerusalem with great skill for more than thirty years. He maintained the existing fortifications of Jerusalem, and, in addition, built a strong tower, called Baris, to the north-west of the Temple, on the site afterwards occupied by the tower of Antonia. The exact date of the erection of this tower or citadel is not known, but it seems probable that it was erected after a revolt had taken place among the priests, and the sect of the Pharisees had endeavoured to depose Hyrcanus from his high position; and his object seems to have been to secure a fortified place of residence for himself, outside the courts of the Temple, where he could keep the garments of the high priest and other treasures in safety. But, however this may have been, it is rather interesting to note that, while Simon completely demolished the citadel of the Akra, south of the Temple, in order that the latter should be the *only* fortified position in the city on the eastern hill, his son Hyrcanus built the Baris, north of the Temple, in order that he might have a safe retreat in case of disaffection among the

priests. The truth was that, in those times, no governor of Jerusalem could feel secure unless he had some kind of fortress, garrisoned solely by persons of assured fidelity.

After the death of John Hyrcanus, his eldest son Aristobulus succeeded him as high priest, but, considering that this position was not sufficiently exalted, he decided to make himself king also, and began operations by starving his mother to death, assassinating Antigonus, one of his brothers, in the vaults of the Baris, and putting his other brothers in prison. He is chiefly remarkable for having been the first king of the Hasmonean dynasty, but his own reign was very short, as he died of remorse within a year. Josephus quaintly remarks that Aristobulus was "naturally a man of candour, and of great modesty," characteristics which are somewhat difficult to reconcile with his actions.

During the reign of Aristobulus, or in that of his successor, Alexander, a new royal palace was built in Jerusalem, apparently because it was considered that the king, so far as his office as king was concerned, should have a residence apart from the Temple. This new palace was placed not on the eastern hill, on the site of the old palace of Solomon, which had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, but on the lower slope of the western hill, in what is now the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem. As the deep central valley lay between the palace and the Temple, a bridge was built across it, so that the king could have easy access to the latter without having to descend into the valley. This bridge was destroyed during the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey some years later.

After the death of Aristobulus, Alexander Jannæus, one of his brothers whom he had imprisoned, succeeded him as king and high priest. During his reign of

twenty-seven years the Jews were constantly at war with the Egyptians, the Syrians, the Arabians, or the Phœnicians, and he had considerable success on the whole; but his constant campaigns proved too much for him, and, as Josephus tells us, "by making expeditions at unseasonable times, and by forcing his body to undergo greater hardships than he could bear, he brought himself to an end." But he had the satisfaction of maintaining the independence of Jerusalem, an independence which had been so bravely won by the Maccabees.

Alexander, before his death, had nominated his wife, Alexandra, a very capable woman, to succeed him as reigning queen, and as she could not hold the office of high priest also, it was given to her eldest son, Hyrcanus, so that the royal and priestly dignities were once more held by separate individuals.

Her second son, Aristobulus, was dissatisfied because he had not been appointed king, and fled from Jerusalem, with the intention of stirring up a revolt in the country against his mother. Alexandra imprisoned his wife and family in the Baris, and managed, though with considerable difficulty, to keep matters quiet until her death, after a reign of nine years. Then Aristobulus came to Jerusalem and besieged Hyrcanus; but, after a time, the brothers came to an amiable arrangement, by which Aristobulus was to be king and live in the new royal palace, while Hyrcanus was to keep the office of high priest and hold the Temple and the fortress of Baris. This settlement suited both the brothers, as Aristobulus was ambitious, while Hyrcanus was a man of quiet disposition, and seems to have had no desire, although he was the elder, to take the position of king. It would have been well for Jerusalem if the brothers had been left in peace to carry out the arrangement upon which they had agreed.

Unfortunately, however, Hyrcanus had some friends more ambitious than himself, who, for their own ends, endeavoured to persuade him that he was a badly used man, and that he ought to kill his brother, and take possession of the kingdom. For some time Hyrcanus resisted his evil counsellors; but at length he was over-persuaded, and, believing a story that Aristobulus would have him assassinated if he remained in Jerusalem, fled to Petra, accompanied by Antipater, an Idumæan, who was one of the most prominent of the conspirators. Petra was then the capital of Arabia, and the residence of Aretas, the king of that country, whom Antipater persuaded to send an army against Aristobulus. In the battle which followed, Aristobulus was defeated and fled to Jerusalem, whither he was followed by Aretas and the Arabians, and by the Jews who supported the policy of Antipater.

Meanwhile the rising power of Rome was making itself strongly felt in Asia. Pompey, who commanded the Roman army in the East, had overthrown the Syrian monarchy, and had captured Damascus, when Aristobulus and Hyrcanus sent messengers to him, asking him to act as arbitrator, and to settle the dispute between them. This was very satisfactory to Pompey, who considered that he could turn the matter to his own advantage, and promised Aristobulus that, if he would surrender Jerusalem to him, he would be supported in his position as king of Judæa. Marching from Damascus southwards, Pompey reached Jericho, where he was met by Aristobulus, who promised to pay tribute and surrender the city quietly if the Roman army left the country. But here he had promised more than he was able to perform; for, when Pompey sent Gabinius, one of his generals, to receive the tribute and occupy Jerusalem, the

garrison refused to have anything to do with him, and sent him back empty-handed. Pompey, who was naturally indignant, immediately made Aristobulus a prisoner, and advanced without delay to besiege Jerusalem.

The attack was made by Pompey in the first instance against the upper city on the western hill, as in all previous sieges; but, after the Romans had taken possession of the upper city and of the royal palace, the citadel of Baris and the Temple still held out and refused to yield. Pompey therefore established his camp on the northern hill opposite the Temple and constructed siege works on a large scale, well provided with catapults and battering rams. The ditch in front of the fortifications was partially filled up, so as to allow the engines to be brought close to the wall, in order to make a practicable breach. The Romans then assaulted the position with great vigour, and captured the Baris and the Temple after a combat in which many were slain on both sides.

Then, having effected his object and captured Jerusalem, Pompey behaved with remarkable leniency, as he took none of the treasures of the Temple, confirmed Hyrcanus in his position as high priest, and ordered the Jews to purify the Holy House and continue the sacrifices. Aristobulus and his family were removed as prisoners to Italy, and, from that time, Jerusalem lost its independence and became tributary to Rome. Shortly afterwards Gabinius succeeded Pompey as the Roman general in Syria, and when Alexander, a son of Aristobulus, who had escaped from his captivity, attempted to resist the Roman power and rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, Gabinius immediately interfered and stopped the work. He then reorganized the system of government in Jerusalem, leaving to Hyrcanus and the priests the

charge of the Temple, while the civil affairs were placed under a legislative council, which was made responsible to the Roman governor of the province. Gabinius was succeeded by Crassus, who was less lenient than his predecessors, and took away much of the treasure out of the Temple. Soon afterwards he proceeded on an expedition into Parthia, where he perished with all his army.

The next Roman governor of the Syrian province was Cassius, who received considerable assistance from Antipater, the man who, as has already been mentioned, was the cause of Roman interference in the affairs of Judæa. Antipater was a clever man, who always played for his own hand, and was prepared to work for any one who could forward his ambitious designs. At this time Julius Cæsar, the greatest of Roman generals, was gradually obtaining the mastery over all his rivals in succession, and advancing to the highest position in the government of the Roman dominions. One of his first acts as regards Judæa was to release Aristobulus, with the intention of restoring him to the kingdom of Jerusalem; but in this he was frustrated by some of Pompey's friends, who poisoned the king and thus put an end to Cæsar's project. Shortly afterwards the latter overthrew Pompey, and marched through Syria on his expedition to Egypt, when Antipater, at once realizing that Cæsar was the coming man, joined him at Ascalon with a force of three thousand men, and accompanied him into Egypt, where he greatly distinguished himself at the capture of Pelusium.

Strabo states that Hyrcanus also went to Egypt with Julius Cæsar, but whether this was so or not, there can be no doubt that he was regarded favourably by Cæsar, who gave him authority to restore the walls of Jerusalem, which had not been repaired since they

were broken down at the time of the siege by Pompey. At the same time Cæsar rewarded Antipater for the services he had rendered in the Egyptian campaign, and appointed him procurator of Judæa. Hyrcanus had then a good opportunity of establishing himself as governor of Jerusalem, but his easy-going nature again asserted itself, and he allowed the real power to fall into the hands of Antipater, who rebuilt the walls, and appointed his eldest son, Phasælus, as governor of the city. It appears to have been at this time that the fortifications of Jerusalem were extended on the north side by the addition of a new wall, known as the second wall.

Perhaps there is no question with regard to the topography of Jerusalem which has given rise to so much controversy as the exact line followed by this second wall; as upon its position to a great extent depends the probability of whether the site of the Holy Sepulchre, decided upon as the true one in the reign of the Emperor Constantine, is genuine or not. As no certain traces of the wall have been hitherto discovered, its position can only be fixed by inference, and by the account of it given by Josephus. According to this historian, the reason the wall was built was because a new suburb had sprung up on the north-western hill of Jerusalem, outside the old or first wall, and this suburb had to be included within the defences. He states that the wall started from the Gate Gennath (*see* p. 65) in the first wall, and, enclosing the new suburb (which he calls the lower new town to distinguish it from the lower town on the eastern hill, south of the Temple), ended on the tower of Antonia, built by King Herod on the site of the tower of Baris, already referred to. Looked at from a military point of view it seems probable that the wall, starting northwards from the first wall, followed what is now

the line of Christian Street, and then, turning eastwards, gradually descended into the central valley, and, crossing this, joined the tower of Antonia. It is sometimes assumed that the second wall was built in the time of the Kings of Judah, and that it was part of the walls repaired by Nehemiah. This, however, appears to be quite out of the question, as it is never alluded to by Josephus before the repair of the walls of the city by Antipater. His first mention of the wall is in the history of the period between this restoration and the time of King Herod, and he speaks of it as a new construction necessitated by the growth of the new suburb on the north-western hill. A very careful study of the question both in the records and on the ground leads to the conclusion that it is most probable, though not certain, that the second wall was built by Antipater, and that it included that part of the north-western hill upon which the churches of the Emperor Constantine were built in the fourth century.

When Julius Cæsar returned from the East to Rome he was murdered by conspirators, and Cassius became general of the Roman army in Syria. He began to raise money from the country as rapidly as he could, and in this was assisted by Antipater, who had rejoined him after the departure of Cæsar, and had obtained the appointment of governor of Galilee for his second son Herod, afterwards known as Herod the Great. The young Herod soon distinguished himself by destroying a band of robbers, in the campaign against whom he displayed the same qualities for which he became celebrated when king. Antipater ordered his sons to aid in the collection of tribute, and also a certain man, named Malichus, who was secretly hostile, and who had arranged to kill Antipater because it would be useful for Hyrcanus the high priest. This

he succeeded in doing by poison, whereupon Herod procured the assassination of Malichus, and gave out that he had done this by order of Cassius, under whose command he was serving. Not long afterwards Cassius left Syria, and was defeated and slain by Cæsar Augustus and Mark Antony at Philippi, and the latter general came to Antioch to take command of the Roman forces in Syria, where he met the leading men of the different rival factions among the Jews, and, among others, the supporters of Hyrcanus and of Antigonus, a son of Aristobulus, who desired to be restored to the kingdom of Judæa.

Antony gave his decision in favour of Herod, who had become betrothed to Mariamne, a grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, and would not listen to the supporters of Antigonus, whereupon the latter fled to Pacorus, the son of the king of Parthia, and promised him a large sum of money to induce him to march with an army to Jerusalem and assist him in recovering the throne. Herod and Phasælus his brother, who were with Hyrcanus, attempted to resist, but the Parthians were successful in occupying the city; Hyrcanus and Phasælus were taken prisoners, while Herod fled for safety to Petra. After having installed Antigonus as king and plundered Jerusalem, the Parthians returned to their own country, taking Hyrcanus with them, while Phasælus, in despair, committed suicide.

The fortunes of Herod had reached a very low point, and, at one moment, he thought of imitating his brother's example and killing himself, but was dissuaded by his friends. The king of Arabia, fearing the Parthians, refused to allow him to remain at Petra, and he went on to Egypt and thence to Rome. Here his luck turned, as he was well received by Mark Antony and Cæsar Augustus, and, thanks to their assistance, was appointed by the senate to be king of

Judæa in place of Antigonus. Returning to Palestine, Herod landed at Ptolemais (now Acre), and, gradually collecting adherents as he advanced, marched southwards towards Jerusalem, with the intention of displacing Antigonus. But the latter proved too strong, and, after fighting a number of battles without any marked success, Herod abandoned the idea of capturing Jerusalem with his own forces and decided to visit his friend Antony, who was then on the Euphrates, and ask for assistance.

Antony received him hospitably, and, knowing that it was better to have a king in Jerusalem who was friendly to the Romans, ordered the general Sosius, with two legions, to join forces with Herod in capturing Jerusalem. The allied armies entered Judæa, and at length, three years after he had been appointed king by the Roman senate, Herod pitched his camp on the hill north of the Temple and made preparations for a siege. Antigonus and the garrison defended themselves bravely, and it was a considerable time before a breach could be made in the walls; but at last the outer fortifications and the outer cloister of the Temple were captured after very severe fighting. Then the Jews abandoned the eastern hill and fled to the upper city. But it was impossible to defend this after the Baris and the Temple had been taken, and Antigonus, seeing that all was lost, threw himself at the feet of Sosius and begged for mercy.

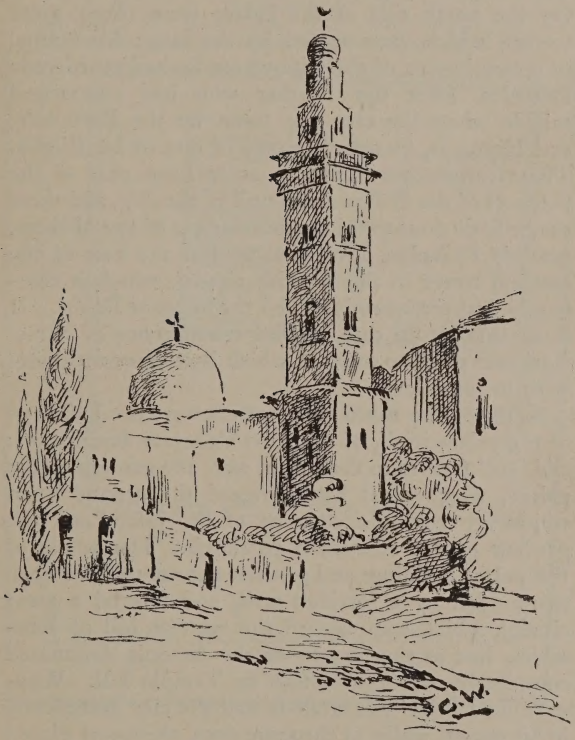
Herod, having gained his object, stopped the massacre, and with his own money bought off the Roman soldiers, who wanted to plunder the city; Sosius, with his army, then returned to Antony, taking Antigonus with him, and the latter, apparently at the instigation of Herod, was murdered shortly after. So ended the dynasty of the Hasmonean kings of Jerusalem in B.C. 37, after having lasted seventy years,

and Herod became the undisputed king of the Jews. He commenced his reign by killing a large number of the supporters of Antigonus, and by collecting all the gold and silver he could find in Jerusalem; of this he sent the greater part to Antony, in order to show his gratitude to him for having enabled him to take possession of the city and establish himself as king.

There is not space in this small volume to follow the political history of the times, nor to relate all the cruelties of which Herod was guilty as years passed by. Suffice it to say that he killed his wife, his mother-in-law, his sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus the high priests, besides many of his own friends. Here it is only possible to deal with the works of construction that he carried out in Jerusalem, and the many additions that he made in the city. Of these the most important were the building of the tower of Antonia, the construction of a magnificent palace for himself in the upper city, and the erection of a completely new Temple to replace that which had been built by Zerubbabel five hundred years previously.

The first of these great works to be taken in hand was the fortress of Antonia, which was probably built soon after the capture of Jerusalem by Herod, who appears to have designed it in order to prevent any one imitating his action and taking possession of the Temple hill from the north. The Antonia took the place of the tower of Baris, which had been built by John Hyrcanus, but was a much larger building, and, as described by Josephus, was a palace as well as a fortress. It was so completely destroyed after the siege of Titus that its exact position cannot be traced; part of it, at all events, stood on the ground now occupied by the Turkish barracks at the north-west corner of the Haram enclosure, but it probably extended considerably to the north and south of these. It was

apparently square, with great towers at the angles, and was surrounded by a strong exterior wall. A way of



MOSQUE ON SITE OF ANTONIA

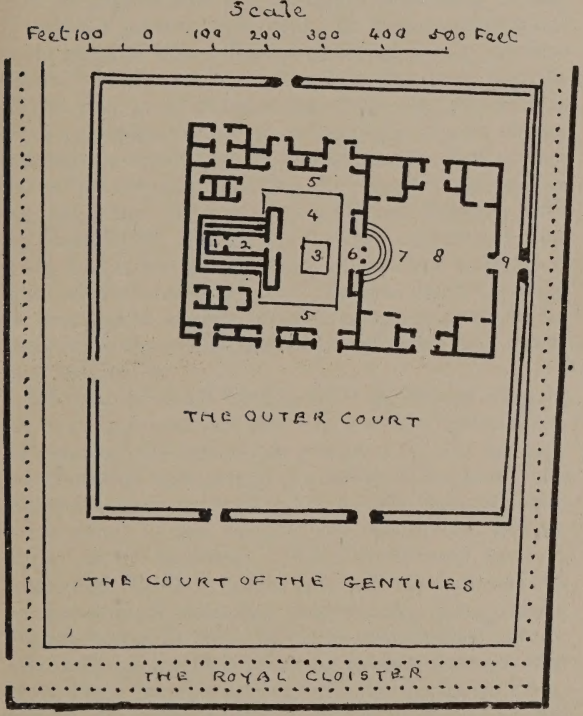
access led from it to the courts of the Temple, and also a secret passage, by which the king could enter the latter without being observed.

The second of King Herod's works, the royal palace, was in the upper or western city, and its site is now occupied by the Turkish citadel at the Jaffa Gate. On the north side of the palace were three great towers, which were named by the king: Mariamne, in remembrance of the wife whom he had murdered; Phasælus, after the brother who had committed suicide when the city was taken by the Parthians; and Hippicus, in remembrance of one of his friends. These towers were built so as to form part of the defences of the first or north wall of the city, and there can be little doubt that the foundations of one of them, possibly Phasælus, have been used as the base of the existing tower in the Turkish citadel, which is commonly, but erroneously, called the tower of David. It is an interesting case of that transference of names from one place to another which is so frequently met with in Jerusalem.

South of the three great towers were the buildings of the palace itself, of the most elaborate description; and, still farther to the south, were the gardens of the palace, which must have covered the ground upon which are now the convent of St. James and the gardens of the Armenian patriarch. The whole of the palace buildings and gardens appear to have been surrounded by a fortified wall, and formed a great citadel, which commanded the western hill of Jerusalem, just as the fortress of the Antonia dominated completely over the eastern or Temple hill. Whoever held these two citadels had the city completely in his power, while, at the same time, they were placed in the best possible positions for defending it from attack from outside. Besides constructing the formidable citadels, Herod put the walls of the city in perfect repair, and, when his work on the fortifications was completed, Jerusalem was a far stronger city than

THE TEMPLE OF THE JEWS

as described by Josephus and in the Middoth.



1. The Holy of Holies, over the Sacred Rock.
2. The Holy Place.
3. The Altar.
4. Court of the Priests.
5. Court of Israel.
6. The Gate Nicanor.
7. The Circular Steps.
8. Court of the Women.
9. The Beautiful Gate.

it had ever been since the time of its foundation by King David.

The third and greatest of the building works carried out by Herod was the complete rebuilding of the Temple, a gigantic task, which he took in hand more from political than religious motives; for, in the first place, he believed it would please the Jews, and, in the second, it provided a very large number of men with employment, and so reduced the chance of any attempt at revolution in Jerusalem. He had at first some difficulty in persuading the priests to understand the advantage of taking down the old Temple, built by Zerubbabel, and of providing a completely new one; but at last he succeeded in this, and committed the reconstruction of the Temple itself entirely to the hands of the priests themselves, while he undertook the restoration of the cloisters and courts surrounding it.

Of this, the third Temple built on Mount Moriah, we have more accurate and complete descriptions than of either of the two which preceded it; for not only are there full accounts in the books of Josephus, who was well acquainted with it, but it is also described with great detail in the work of the Rabbinical writers, known as the Middoth. The Temple itself, or, as it was called, the Holy House, was built on the same lines as the original sanctuary designed by King David. It consisted of the Holy of Holies over the sacred rock, used only by the high priest on solemn occasions, the Holy Place for the priests, and the Porch in front. Before the Temple was the altar of sacrifice, and, enclosing both, was the court of the priests, in front of which was the court of Israel, into which men alone were allowed to enter. Before this again, to the east, was the court of the women, so called because it was free to women as well as men.

Surrounding all the former was the outer court, denied to all but Jews, and having, on its enclosure walls, inscriptions forbidding access to Gentiles under pain of death. One of these inscriptions was discovered by M. Clermont Ganneau, and is now preserved in the Imperial Museum of Antiquities at Constantinople. Outside this court King Herod enclosed a vast area which still exists, and is known as the Haram enclosure, surrounded by great walls, built up from the rock surface of the hill. Of these great walls the foundations still remain, and, in places, the work of Herod can be seen, as, for example, at the Wailing Place of the Jews; but, for the most part, the Herodian work has been destroyed, and the walls that are visible are reconstructions of later date. No effort was spared, either in the Temple or in the surrounding courts, to make the whole structure one of the most remarkable in the world.

Besides the three important buildings described above, Herod built a large theatre and many edifices of less importance, which added much to the magnificence of Jerusalem, and to no king did the city owe more for its prosperity. He looked forward also to founding a dynasty which would far eclipse in greatness that of the house of David.

In the thirty-third year of the reign of Herod Jesus Christ was born at Bethlehem, a few miles south of Jerusalem, and the king, hearing a story that this Child was to become king of the Jews, and fearing a rival in the future, promptly ordered the murder of all the young children in Bethlehem. To us, of course, so cruel a massacre appears terrible, but to Herod, who had shed oceans of blood on his progress to the throne, it probably seemed but a small thing, and the natural course to take under the circumstances. Two years later he died, after a long and

severe illness, unchanged in disposition to the last, as he caused his son, Antipater, to be murdered only a few days before his own death. Josephus sums up the character of King Herod in the following words: "A man he was of great barbarity towards all men equally, and a slave to his passions; but above the consideration of that which was right. Yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any man ever was, for, from a private man, he became a king."

But, whatever the evil qualities of Herod may have been, it must be remembered that he had practically freed Judæa from foreign domination, and had made Jerusalem once more a great city.

CHAPTER IV

JERUSALEM UNDER THE ROMAN AND GREEK EMPERORS

HEROD had founded the dynasty of the Idumæan kings, a dynasty which he had hoped would be a lasting one, but, in this, his expectations were doomed to meet with disappointment, as his successors were men of character very different to that of the great king, and proved quite unequal to the task of maintaining the independence of Judæa.

By a will made some time before his death, Herod had named Antipas, his younger son, as his successor in the kingdom, but, during his last illness, he changed his mind and made a new will, by which his eldest son Archelaus was appointed king, while Antipas was nominated to the lesser post of tetrarch of Galilee. Archelaus, who was at Jerusalem at the time of his father's death, gave him a magnificent funeral, and then, entering into the Temple, made a speech to the priests and people, and explained to them that he could not take his position as king until the appointment had been ratified by the Roman emperor. Shortly afterwards he started for Rome, accompanied by his mother and many of his friends, to plead his own cause before Cæsar Augustus, and, about the same time, his brother Antipas also went to Rome, to claim the kingdom of Judæa in accordance with his father's first will.

In the meantime, while the rival claimants to the throne were in Italy, Sabinus, the Roman procurator, who lived at Cæsarea, went up to Jerusalem, took possession of the royal palace in the name of the emperor, and, from that time, Jerusalem lost its independent position, and became completely subordinate to Rome. The Jews, however, were not prepared to submit quietly to this change of masters; and, although Sabinus held the two citadels of Jerusalem,—the royal palace on the western, and the castle of Antonia on the eastern hill,—they took advantage of the festival of Pentecost, when there were large numbers of countryfolk in the city, to attempt an insurrection. As Sabinus had only a small force at his disposal, he had to shut himself up in the royal palace, whence he sent an urgent message to Varus, the governor of Syria, imploring him to come to his assistance.

Varus started at once with two legions, four regiments of cavalry, and a large body of auxiliary troops, and, advancing through Judæa, reached Jerusalem without encountering any serious resistance. The Jews, seeing that the Romans were too strong for them, submitted to Varus, who punished those who had taken part in the revolt, of whom he is said to have crucified two thousand; and then, leaving one legion to maintain order in the city, returned to Antioch. Sabinus, fearing that he would be blamed by Varus for the disorder, did not dare to meet him, but escaped by night from the royal palace, and fled to the coast.

While the revolt and its consequences were proceeding in Jerusalem, the case of the rival claimants for the kingdom of Judæa was being considered at Rome, and was finally settled by the Emperor Augustus in the following manner. Archelaus was appointed ethnarch, but not king, of Judæa, and was given half the territory of his father Herod, while the other half

was divided between his two brothers, Antipas and Philip. But, although Archelaus was thus made nominally ruler of Jerusalem, he was really only the servant of Rome, and a few years later, on complaints being made of his method of government, he was summoned to Italy, and then banished to Vienne in France, while Coponius, a Roman senator, was made procurator of Judæa under Cyrenius, who had succeeded Varus as governor of Syria.

Coponius was succeeded as procurator by several Roman officers in succession, and, in A.D. 25, the appointment was given by the Emperor Tiberius to Pontius Pilate, whose name is better known to Christians than that of any of the Roman governors who preceded him. Soon after taking up his duties in the province of Judæa, Pilate moved the headquarters of the Roman army from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, and nearly occasioned a revolt by bringing into the city the Roman standards adorned with eagles, which were regarded by the Jews as idolatrous emblems. But when he realized how strongly the inhabitants of Jerusalem felt about the matter, and, being anxious to keep on good terms with them, Pilate ordered the standards to be returned to Cæsarea, and the excitement passed off without bloodshed.

In another instance he was not so successful in avoiding dangerous controversy, although in this case his intentions were certainly praiseworthy. It has already been mentioned that the provision of a good water supply has always been a difficulty in Jerusalem, and Pilate came to the conclusion that it would be a great advantage to construct an aqueduct, in order to bring water from a distance into the city. This aqueduct is still in existence, and can be traced for the greater part of its length, but it is very much broken, and has completely disappeared in places.

It started from a spring, called Birket el Arrub, twelve miles south of Jerusalem, and, after following a very circuitous course, wound round the western hill of the city, and, crossing the central valley, entered the Temple enclosure. Pilate deserved much credit for the design of the work, but, unfortunately, in order to carry it out, he appropriated some of the sacred money, and thereby greatly excited the Jews, who rose in revolt, and were not subdued until a considerable number of them had been killed.

By far the most important event during the governorship of Pontius Pilate was the Crucifixion of the Lord Jesus Christ, an event which changed the history of the world, and led to results which Pilate certainly never anticipated, when, following his usual course of trying to keep on good terms with the Jews, he overcame his better feelings, and consented to the death of One whom he himself regarded, not as a criminal, but as the teacher of some doctrine that he could not understand. Josephus, the Jewish historian, sums up the story in the following words. "Now there was about that time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again at the third day; as the divine prophets had foretold these, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians so named from him are not extinct at this day."

The history of the life and death of Jesus Christ has given to Jerusalem a position different from that

of any other city in the world, and the visitor is naturally anxious to see for himself the various places mentioned in the Gospels, and in the Acts of the Apostles. To some it may come somewhat as a shock to find that the majority of the sites shown to devout pilgrims can have no foundation in fact, as the city, as it existed in the time of our Lord, has been completely destroyed, and, in certain places, lies many feet below the level of the present streets, so that the really authentic sites can be counted on the fingers of the hand.

Outside the city, the Mount of Olives and the Valley of the Kedron remain, but the latter has been so filled up with rubbish that its appearance must be greatly altered. The site of the Temple is undoubtedly that on which the Dome of the Sakhrah now stands over the sacred rock, but no trace of the magnificent building which was there in the time of our Lord is to be seen. Parts of the exterior wall of the Haram enclosure at the south-east corner, along the south and west walls, and at the Wailing Place of the Jews, may possibly date from the time of Herod. The Pool of Siloam is on the site of the ancient pool, and it is probable that the underground reservoirs, entered from the court of the church of St. Anne, really represent the Pool of Bethesda. The foundations of the great tower of the citadel, near the Jaffa Gate, are, there is little doubt, the foundations of one of the towers built by King Herod to protect his royal palace. But, with the exception of the above, the greater part of the places shown in Jerusalem have been gradually selected during the course of many centuries for the benefit of Christian pilgrims, and some of the sites have been moved about, or grouped together, for greater convenience. They are therefore not to be regarded as authentic, but

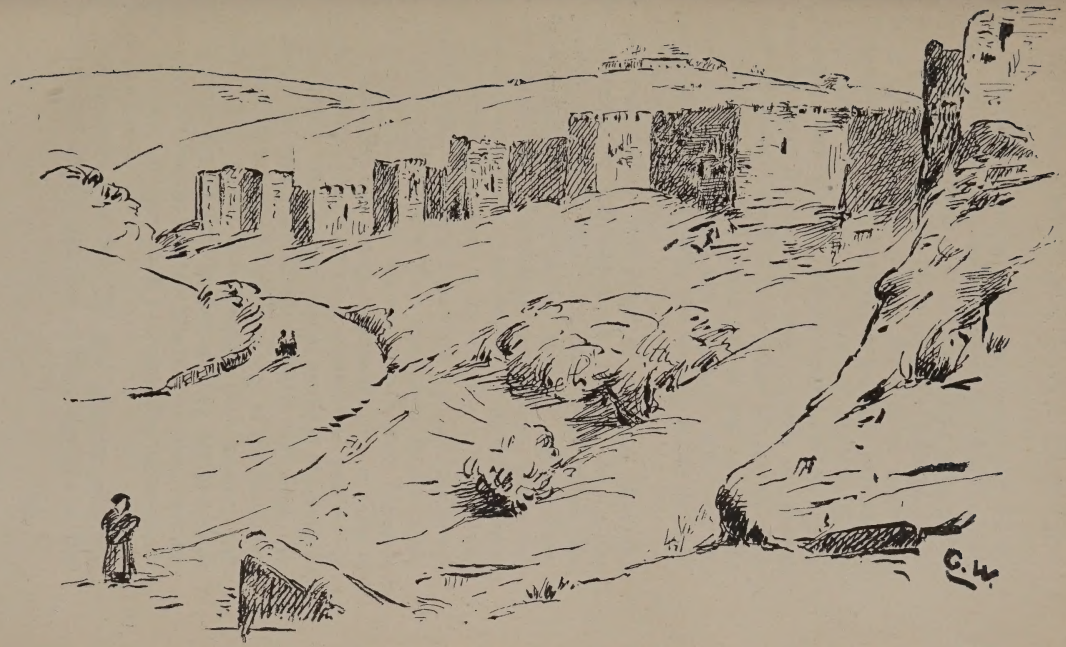
rather as pictures, like those of the Stations of the Cross hung up in Roman Catholic churches, which are intended to bring the reality of the Gospel history home to the minds of those persons, who, like doubting Thomas, cannot believe unless they see.

Pontius Pilate held the office of procurator until A.D. 36, when he was reported to Vitellius, the governor of Syria, for cruel conduct in connection with the suppression of an insurrection in Samaria, and was sent to Rome for trial; but, before he had reached Italy, the Emperor Tiberius had died, and was succeeded by Caius Caligula, who gave the appointment of governor of Judæa to Murullus in place of Pilate. At this time there was living in Rome a grandson of Herod the Great, named Agrippa, who had been a friend of the Emperor Tiberius, but had fallen under his displeasure, and had been put in prison under the suspicion that he had been plotting against the emperor. The death of Tiberius was a fortunate circumstance for Agrippa, as Caligula released him from his chains and appointed him to be king of Trachonitis, that part of eastern Syria of which Philip, the son of Herod, had been tetrarch. After a reign of four years, Caligula was assassinated in the theatre at Rome, and was succeeded by Claudius, who was proclaimed as emperor by the army. This change of emperors again brought good luck to Agrippa, as Claudius was kindly disposed towards him, and promoted him to be king of Judæa, attaching to the title all the territory that had formerly been held by his grandfather Herod.

Agrippa, on his appointment, immediately proceeded to Jerusalem, when he visited the Temple, and dedicated as a thank-offering a chain of gold, which Caligula had given him in remembrance of the fact that he had been bound by Tiberius in fetters

of iron. He began his government by the popular measure of relieving the people of Jerusalem from the house tax, which had been imposed by the Roman procurators, and, in other ways, made himself much liked by the Jews. The most important work that King Agrippa carried out at Jerusalem was the construction of a wall on the north side of the town, to protect the new quarters which had sprung up since the time of Herod, and which, as they lay outside the old fortifications, were quite unprotected from attack.

The new wall built by Agrippa, generally known as the third wall, started from the tower Hippicus, near the palace of Herod, enveloped a large area in front of the second wall and the district north of the castle of Antonia and the Temple, and joined the old east wall of the city in the Valley of Kedron. There has been much controversy as to the exact line followed by this third wall, and it would occupy far too much space to discuss the theories of different writers regarding the matter; it is sufficient to say that it seems most probable that it followed approximately the line of the existing north wall of Jerusalem from the Jaffa Gate, passing the New Gate, the Damascus Gate, and the old quarries opposite the grotto of Jeremiah. The present wall is of comparatively modern construction, but there are traces here and there of what may possibly be the original work, especially at the Damascus Gate. If the traveller, going out of the city through this gate, will look at the wall under the archway at the right-hand side, he will see some very large stones, which evidently formed the arch of an ancient gateway, the bottom of which must have been at least twenty feet below the present level of the street. It is not impossible that this may have been the gate in Agrippa's wall,



THE NORTH WALL OF JERUSALEM

but there have been so many reconstructions of the gate during the past eighteen centuries, that it cannot be asserted positively. It is curious that some people regard the Damascus Gate as that through which Jesus Christ was led out of the city to execution, forgetful of the fact that neither wall nor gate existed until some years after the date of the Crucifixion. The third wall, which had been commenced on a grand scale by King Agrippa, was only partially completed, as the Emperor Claudius, fearing that the fortifications of Jerusalem would become too strong, ordered the work to be stopped, and Agrippa, who, though nominally king, was really the servant of the Romans, was obliged to obey.

It was during the reign of Agrippa that the persecution of the Christians, referred to in the twelfth chapter of the Acts, took place, when the Apostle James was murdered, and the Apostle Peter was imprisoned. According to tradition, James was beheaded on the site of the present Armenian convent of St. James, but there is no mention of this in the early writers. Not long afterwards Agrippa took up his residence at Cæsarea on the coast, where he died after a short illness, and as his son, also named Agrippa, was considered too young to succeed him as king, a Roman officer, Cuspius Fadus, was sent as procurator to Jerusalem. But he had charge of the civil administration only, while the spiritual power, and authority over the high priest, was left in charge of the Herodian family. This power over ecclesiastical matters was given at first to Herod, brother of King Agrippa, who was king of Chalcis, and was afterwards taken over by the younger Agrippa, when he succeeded his uncle as king of Chalcis.

This separation of the civil and religious administrations explains the position of King Agrippa at the

trial of the Apostle Paul, as related in the twenty-fifth chapter of the Acts, when Festus, the procurator, realizing that the question in dispute concerned religion, consulted Agrippa as to the action to be taken. Had it been a civil matter only, Agrippa, who was king of Chalcis, and had nothing to say to the civil government of Judæa, would not have been referred to.

Cuspius Fadus proved a good governor, and did a great deal in the way of clearing Judæa of the bands of robbers with which it was infested. During his administration Jerusalem enjoyed peace, but the procurators who succeeded him, of whom Festus was one, were less fortunate, and there were several insurrections in the city, which were not subdued without much bloodshed, while brigandage in the country increased much. Little by little there grew up a state of irritation between the Roman authorities and the Jews, which reached the breaking point when, in A.D. 64, Gessius Florus was appointed procurator by the Emperor Nero. There was another reason for discontent in Jerusalem at that time, as the buildings of the courts of the Temple, which had been in progress since the days of Herod the Great, were at length finished, and a large number of men were thrown out of work and left without means of subsistence.

Under the circumstances, a worse appointment than that of Florus could not be imagined, as he was a man who thought only of personal gains, and his methods of administration soon brought matters to a head. He commenced his career by marching an army to Jerusalem, and, having taken up his quarters in the royal palace, called the priests and people together to threaten them, and to order them to give him some of the sacred treasure in the Temple He

then sent the soldiers into the city to kill and plunder, so as to inspire the inhabitants with proper respect for the Romans. Berenice, the sister of King Agrippa, who was stopping in Jerusalem at the time, implored Florus to desist, but without effect, and she, poor lady, had to fly to the palace to save herself from being killed by the soldiers. It is not surprising that the Jews rose in revolt. They succeeded in capturing the fortress of Antonia from the Romans, and, although Florus brought in additional troops from other cities, he was unable to hold his position, and, leaving a small garrison in Jerusalem, he retired to Cæsarea, from whence he sent to Cestius, the governor of Syria, accusing the Jews of rebellion against the Roman authority, and asking for assistance. The high priest, on the other hand, also sent an embassy to Cestius, imploring him to protect the city against the cruelty of Florus.

Cestius decided to inquire into the matter, and sent a Roman officer to Jerusalem, who was accompanied by King Agrippa, to whom the high priest had appealed. Agrippa did his best to pacify the people, but without much success, although he was well supported by the high priest and the better-disposed of the inhabitants, who only wanted peace and quiet. But the party of disorder was too strong, and, as soon as Agrippa had left, they killed the high priest and many of his adherents, and burnt down the palace of the Hasmonean kings opposite the Temple. The Roman garrison, which had remained when Florus retreated, held out as long as they could in the towers of Herod's palace, and, having surrendered on the promise that their lives would be spared, were all murdered with the exception of their commander, who agreed to become a Jew. This massacre of the garrison may be regarded as the commencement of

the great war between the Romans and the Jews, which ended in the total destruction of Jerusalem.

The outburst in Jerusalem was followed by revolts of the Jews in other parts of Palestine and in Egypt, and many of the Romans and their supporters throughout the country were murdered. Cestius, realizing the serious nature of the insurrection, assembled a large army at Antioch, and, marching southwards, reached Jerusalem without meeting any serious resistance. Here he captured the outer wall and the north parts of the city, and then made preparations to attack the Antonia, the Temple, and Herod's palace, all of which were held strongly by the Jews. But the latter, realizing that the Romans were too powerful for them, were just on the point of giving in, when, to their great delight, Cestius changed his plans and ordered a retreat. Then the Jews sallied forth from the city in pursuit, and killed many of the Romans, besides capturing much booty; it was one of the rare occasions when the Roman soldiers turned their backs to the enemy, and it was a long time before the twelfth legion recovered from the disgrace.

The war now became general throughout all Palestine, and the Emperor Nero, realizing the serious situation of affairs, decided to send Vespasian, one of the ablest Roman generals, to supersede Cestius and take command of the army in Syria, with the view of reconquering the country, and, above all, of capturing Jerusalem, the origin and centre of the insurrection. Vespasian sailed at once for Syria and proceeded to Acre, where he assembled a force of sixty thousand men, including the fifth and tenth legions, the two finest in the Roman army, the fifteenth, which his son Titus brought over from Greece at very short notice, and the twelfth legion, which was thus given an opportunity of making amends for its disgrace.

As soon as his army was organized, Vespasian marched into Galilee, and, after spending two years in subduing the many fortified cities in that province held by the Jews, reached Jericho in May, A.D. 66, and then returned to Cæsarea to prepare for the siege of Jerusalem.

But his plans were altered in consequence of news arriving from Rome that the Emperor Nero was dead, and had been succeeded by Servius Galba, whereupon Vespasian sent Titus to Rome to do homage to the new emperor. Before, however, Titus had arrived, Galba had been murdered, and succeeded by Otho, who, in his turn, was deposed by Vitellius. This was displeasing to the army in Syria, who considered that their own general had as good, if not a better right to be emperor than Vitellius, and the army of Egypt taking the same view, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor. This put an end to his campaign in Palestine, and he started for Alexandria to make arrangements for going to Rome, where his supporters had succeeding in defeating and killing Vitellius, thus removing the last obstacle between him and the imperial throne. During his stay at Alexandria Vespasian entrusted the conduct of the campaign against the Jews to Titus, who, taking command of a carefully selected army, marched from Egypt to Cæsarea, where he collected, by the spring of A.D. 70, a force of about 40,000 Roman soldiers and 20,000 auxiliary troops, including a large body of Arabians, and a division under the command of King Agrippa.

During the four years that had elapsed between the retreat of Cestius from Jerusalem and the arrival of Titus in Palestine, the city had been in a constant state of internal warfare, the Jews being just as ready to kill one another as to kill the Romans. At first there had been some kind of organization, and a

committee of defence was appointed, under Ananus the high priest, which proceeded to strengthen the walls, and also to exercise a general supervision over the Jews throughout Palestine, who were engaged in the war with the Romans. But this condition of affairs did not last long, and when a certain John, who had managed to escape from the city of Gischala in Galilee when it was taken by Vespasian, arrived in Jerusalem with other fugitives, the evil-disposed persons rose against the high priest and the party of order, and killed them. It is unnecessary to give the details of these miserable years in Jerusalem, or to tell of all the massacres that took place, Jews killing Jews as if they wanted to exterminate their own race. The final result was, that, when Titus was organizing his expeditionary force at Cæsarea, there were three different parties in the city fighting with one another, led respectively by Simon of Gerasa, John of Gischala, and Eleazar, one of the priests.

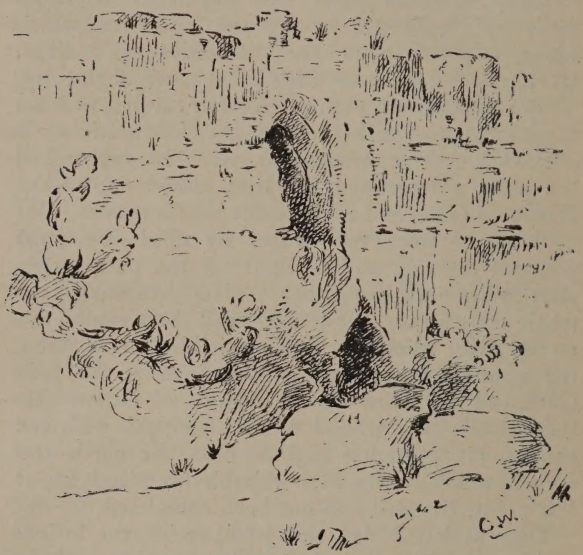
Simon held the fortified enclosure of Herod's palace on the western hill, the lower city, and all the northern quarter up to the wall of Agrippa; John occupied the castle of Antonia, the outer courts of the Temple, and the parts of the city which immediately adjoined; while Eleazar and his followers had possession of the Temple itself, and of the inner cloisters round it. Constant fighting went on between them; but, just before the siege commenced, John succeeded by a stratagem in capturing the Temple, and slew many of its defenders, after which Eleazar and those who were left alive joined the party of John, and the rival factions were thus reduced to two, who continued to fight against one another, even after the Roman army had come in sight of the doomed city.

Having completed his preparations, Titus left

Cæsarea early in March, A.D. 70, and advanced on Jerusalem by the great north road, arriving before the city a few days previous to the feast of the Passover, the last Passover that was ever to be celebrated in the Temple of the Jews. He fully realized the strength of the fortifications, which had never been seriously attacked since the important additions made by Herod and by Agrippa, additions which added enormously to the difficulties of a siege. Having halted his army a few miles north of the city, Titus rode forward, with an escort of cavalry, to make a personal reconnaissance of the fortifications; a somewhat rash proceeding, as, when he approached the walls, a large body of Jews rushed out of the Damascus Gate, and tried to cut off his retreat. But he escaped from the danger by displaying great personal courage, and brought off the party safely after losing some of his men. Titus then moved the whole army forward, and established three camps, one at the place where the Russian buildings now stand, the second on the high ground opposite the Jaffa Gate, and the third on the Mount of Olives. He then levelled the ground outside Agrippa's wall, and erected his battering engines near the north-west corner, where it was most suitable for attack, as, at this point, the wall had not been completed.

Then at last Simon and John, seeing the serious position of affairs, agreed on acting together, and the garrison of the Temple was allowed to assist in the defence of the wall, a great advantage for Simon, as John had a number of catapults and ballistæ in his possession, which had been captured from Cestius when he made his hasty retreat. But, notwithstanding great efforts made by the Jews, the Roman artillery proved too powerful for them, and, a practicable breach having been made, the third wall was captured

on the fifteenth day of the siege. Then Titus moved his camp inside the wall and pitched it at the place where Rabshakeh had encamped with the Assyrian army in the days of King Hezekiah; this must have been approximately on the ground now occupied by



NORTH WALL FROM BEZETHA

the Franciscan convent of St. Saviour, near the new gate, recently made through the wall.

The capture of the second wall was an easier business, and it was breached after being battered for five days; the Jews, however, defended themselves so vigorously, that the storming party was driven out after it had made its way in, and it was another five days before

the part of the city lying between the second and the first, or old wall, was permanently occupied by the Romans.

So far Titus had been very successful, but, knowing that the more difficult part of his task lay before him, he gave his army a few days' rest before proceeding to the attack of the two citadels of Jerusalem, that of Herod's palace on the western hill, and the castle of Antonia, north of the Temple, both of which had been designed by King Herod in such a way as would, he believed, have made them impregnable. Titus decided to attack them simultaneously with his four Roman legions, of which the fifth and twelfth were detailed to construct the siege works at the Antonia, and the tenth and fifteenth opposite the three great towers of Herod's palace.

The banks upon which to place the artillery were completed after seventeen days' hard work, and the catapults and battering-rams had been put in position, when the Jews, with great ingenuity, undermined all the banks and destroyed them. Titus then abandoned the attempt against Herod's palace, and decided to concentrate his attack on the Antonia ; at the same time he ordered the construction of a wall all round the city, so as to make it impossible for the Jews to go in or out, or to obtain supplies. This led to a famine, and great numbers of the inhabitants, especially the unfortunate women and children, died of starvation.

The new siege works against Antonia were then completed, and the attack was recommenced and continued for some time, when a gallery which the Jews had driven to undermine the Roman banks, caved in, and brought down part of the wall, which had been much shaken by the battering-rams. Two days later a small party of Roman soldiers climbed in

over the ruins and killed the Jewish sentries; these were soon followed by others, and, after desperate fighting, Antonia was taken and the Jews were driven back into the Temple. The same day the Daily Sacrifice failed for want of priests to perform the service. Then, little by little, the Romans fought their way onward through the outer courts, and at length, on the tenth day of the month Ab (August 12, A.D. 70), the Temple itself was captured and burnt. An indiscriminate massacre followed, and it was some time before Titus could restore discipline to his army.

Notwithstanding the capture of the Antonia and the Temple, the upper city still held out, and siege works were commenced against both the east and the west walls, but the heart had gone out of the Jews, and, after a breach had been made, they ceased from further effort and endeavoured to escape. John and Simon were taken prisoners, and the latter was paraded at Rome in the triumphal entry made by Titus, while all the inhabitants of the city were killed or made slaves, as the Romans were determined to make an example of the Jews and thus give a warning to other nations of the danger of resisting the imperial power.

Then Titus ordered the destruction of Jerusalem—a destruction far more complete than that carried out by Nebuchadnezzar, as the Temple and its courts were absolutely demolished, not one stone being left upon another, the castle of Antonia was razed to the ground, and the greater part of the three walls of the city was overthrown. But the walls of the upper city were left standing, because, as Josephus says, "This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison; as were the towers [*i. e.* the three great towers built by Herod] also spared, in order to demonstrate to

posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Romans' valour had subdued. But for all the rest of the wall, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to its foundations, that there was nothing left to make those that came hither believe that the city had ever been inhabited. This was the end which Jerusalem came to by the madnesss of those that were for innovations ; a city otherwise of great magnificence and of mighty fame among all mankind."

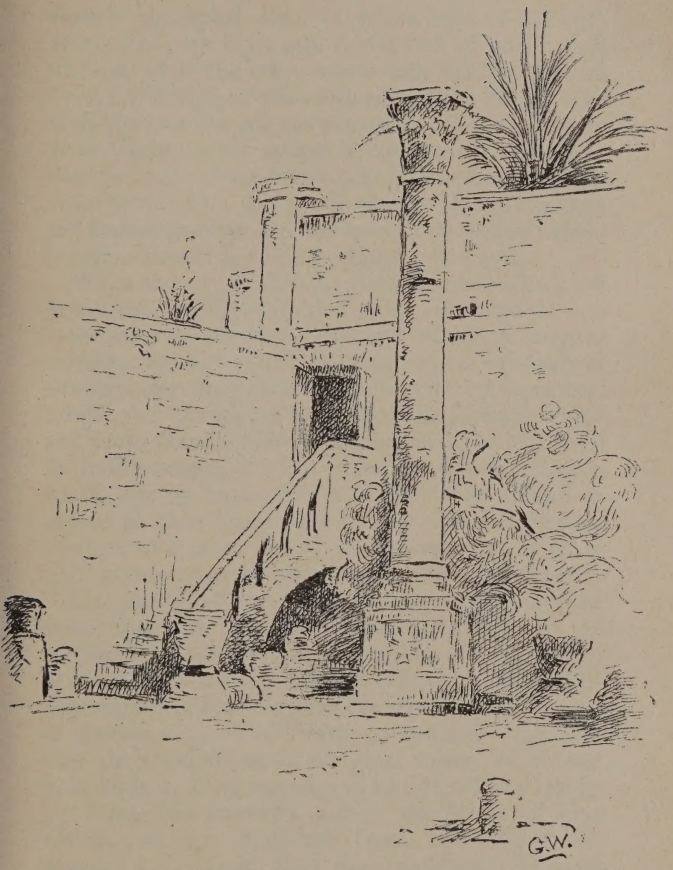
Having given instructions for the complete demolition of Jerusalem and the removal of all the inhabitants, Titus withdrew the greater part of the army and proceeded to Rome, leaving the tenth legion as a garrison. The Jewish Sanhedrin was removed to Bureir and then to Jamnia, now Yebnah, near Ramleh, and no Jews were allowed to approach Jerusalem. The Christians had left the city early during the war, and had emigrated to Pella, east of the Jordan, so that probably none of them were present during the siege.

For the next sixty years the history of Jerusalem is a blank, as it had ceased to be a city and was merely a fortified Roman camp, with a garrison maintained there to keep the country quiet, and probably also to prevent any attempt at rebuilding. It might have been supposed that, after the thorough way in which the Jewish revolt had been suppressed by Vespasian and Titus, and considering the great number of Jews that had been killed or sent into slavery, there was little chance of another insurrection. But the spirit of the nation had not been entirely crushed, and a new generation was growing up, prepared to take revenge for all that their fathers had suffered. Sundry small revolts in Palestine during the reign of the Emperor Trajan were followed by a great rebellion

in A.D. 132, when Hadrian was emperor, under the leadership of a certain Bar Koziba, who was believed by many to be the true Messiah, and who carried on war against the Romans for three years.

It is much to be regretted that there was no Josephus to describe all that happened during this war, of which very meagre accounts remain, but it is clear that the Jews were at first successful, and captured many fortified places, including the Roman camp at Jerusalem. Then Hadrian selected one of his best generals, Julius Severus, who had returned from a successful campaign in Britain, and sent him to Palestine with an army to subdue the insurrection. Severus found the task no easy one, and it is said that he had to fight fifty-two battles before he finally defeated the Jews at Bether, now marked by the village of Bittir, the first station from Jerusalem on the Jaffa railway.

After the suppression of the rebellion, in A.D. 135, Hadrian decided to carry out a scheme which, according to some writers, he had planned before the war. This was to do away altogether with Jerusalem, as a city of the Jews, by rebuilding it as a Roman city, with the name of Ælia Capitolina. The idea was carried into effect, and an entirely new city was built on the old site; there were pagan temples, including one to Venus or Isis, on the site afterwards selected in the time of Constantine for the church of the Holy Sepulchre; there were theatres, baths and other public buildings, and a statue of the emperor was set up on what had been the site of the Jewish Temple. The city of Ælia Capitolina completely obliterated the ruins of old Jerusalem, and of Ælia Capitolina itself hardly any traces remain. Of these the most important is the arch, commonly called the Ecce Homo arch, which forms part of the central opening of a



ROMAN PILLAR IN COURTYARD OF ST. ANNE

Roman triumphal arch, of which one of the side arches has been built into the church of the Sisters of Sion, while the other minor arch has been cut off by the buildings on the south side of the street. The tradition that this was the place where Pilate presented Jesus Christ to the people is comparatively modern. Another relic of Hadrian's city is the nearly straight street which runs due south through Jerusalem from the Damascus Gate, but the level of the present street is higher than it was when originally laid out.

When the city of Ælia Capitolina was finished, the Jews were rigidly excluded; but, although it was intended primarily as a Roman colony, Christians were permitted to settle in it, and it was probably at this time that they returned from Pella. As a natural result, the Christian Church became gradually more and more Gentile, and separated more widely from its Jewish origin; the first bishop in Ælia Capitolina, Mark, was by nationality a Greek. The Christians appear to have lived on good terms with their Roman masters, and even, during the persecutions in other parts of the empire, they seem to have been left in peace.

It is probable that it was at the same period that the name Sion was transferred from the eastern to the western hill; the Temple of the Jews and the city of David on the eastern hill had ceased to exist, while the western hill had become the most important part of the new city. The Christians even came to believe that the foundations of the great tower, which had been built by King Herod, and had been left standing by Titus, had formed a part of the palace of King David, and it is called the Tower of David to the present day. From that time, too, the Christians appear to have regarded the site of the Temple, the Jewish Zion, with an aversion which is really remarkable, and which increased as years passed by.

Once more, with that marvellous power of recuperation, which distinguishes Jerusalem from all other cities, it had become a prosperous town, with a changed name indeed, but on the old site. It was, however, smaller than the ancient city, as, although the north wall was probably rebuilt on the lines of the wall of Agrippa, the south wall was constructed on the line of the existing south wall, leaving outside a great part of the western and the whole of the eastern hill. But this was natural, as a smaller population had to be provided for.

Of the history of the city during the next two centuries little is known, but remembering the old saying, that a country, which is happy, has no history, it may be assumed that, as the turbulent Jewish element had been removed, and the Roman system of government was good, the inhabitants, Christian and Gentile, lived tranquilly together. It was during this period that Christian pilgrims from other countries began to visit Jerusalem, in order to see for themselves the places mentioned in the Bible, and to follow, as far as they could, the footsteps of their Lord. But there is no mention, by any writer of the time, that the position of the tomb, in which the body of Jesus was laid after the Crucifixion, was known to Christians, and the principal place to which pilgrims resorted was the Mount of Olives. Eusebius, who lived in the early part of the fourth century, wrote: "All believers in Christ flock together from all quarters of the earth, not, as of old, to behold the beauty of Jerusalem, or that they may worship in the former Temple which stood in Jerusalem, but that they may abide there, and both hear the story of Jerusalem, and also worship in the Mount of Olives over against Jerusalem, whither the glory of the Lord removed itself, leaving the earlier city. There, also, according to the published record,

the feet of our Lord and Saviour, Who was Himself the Word, and, through it, took upon Himself human form, stood upon the Mount of Olives, near the cave which is now pointed out there."

It will be seen from the above that Eusebius speaks of Jerusalem, and not of Ælia Capitolina; but, although the name Ælia was used occasionally for some centuries longer, it gradually fell into disuse, especially as the Christians became more numerous and more powerful. Whatever Roman emperors might command, Jerusalem would always be Jerusalem, and the time was at hand when it was to become a Christian city, in consequence of the change of religion of the Roman empire from paganism to Christianity.

In A.D. 306, Constantine, afterwards known as Constantine the Great, became Roman emperor of the province of Gaul, sharing the imperial dignity with five others; one by one, the co-emperors disappeared, and he became sole emperor. At some period, the exact date of which cannot be regarded as known with certainty, he was convinced of the truth of Christianity, and, after his accession to supreme power, he undertook the gigantic task of doing away with the worship of the heathen gods, and substituting the Christian religion. Constantine commenced this reform when emperor of Gaul, but at first, while treating the Christians with great kindness, maintained the pagan worship; and it was not until he had become monarch of the whole empire that he definitely declared himself a Christian. Then one of his first acts was to summon a Council of the Christian bishops, which met at Nicæa in A.D. 325, to discuss the doctrines of the Christian religion, and to formulate a creed which was to be regarded as the summing up of the Christian faith.

Constantine himself was President of the Council,

and it was he who ratified the creed after it had been drawn up by the bishops, and there seems to have been no idea at the time that the bishop of Rome was the supreme head of the Church. The Council of Nice was shortly followed by an important act of the emperor. There is a story that, during one of his campaigns, he had seen a vision of a Cross in the heavens, which had led him to victory, and, from that time, the Cross was regarded by the emperor in a manner which was rather superstitious than Christian. He therefore decided to build a church in Jerusalem upon the place where the Lord Jesus had suffered upon the Cross, and wrote to Macarius, the bishop of Jerusalem, directing him to find the site of the Crucifixion.

The history of the finding of the Cross and of the Holy Sepulchre by Macarius is far too long to deal with here, but those who desire full information on the subject will find it in a work by the late General Sir C. W. Wilson, entitled *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, in which all the circumstances relating to the discovery are given. Suffice it to say that, acting immediately on the order of the emperor, Macarius found the three crosses, upon which Jesus Christ and the two thieves had been crucified, Golgotha, where the crosses had been erected, and the tomb in which His body had been laid; and there can be no doubt that the sites, so fixed by Macarius in A.D. 325, are the same as those shown in Jerusalem at the present day.

Whether they are the true sites is quite another matter, and those who believe that they are must also accept the fact that their recovery by Macarius was, as stated by contemporary writers, a real miracle; for there is little question but that they had been completely forgotten, and not the smallest mention

of them is made by any Christian author during the three centuries that had passed from the time of the Crucifixion to the time of Constantine. Those who uphold the authenticity of the sites maintain that there must have been a tradition as to their position, but of this there is no proof, and, having regard to the history of Jerusalem after its complete destruction by Titus, it is not very probable. All that is known for certain is that Macarius was ordered to find the sites, and that he found them. A strong argument against their authenticity is that the place was probably within the second wall (*see* p. 84), but, as the position of that wall is not certainly known, this argument cannot be regarded as conclusive.

As soon as Macarius reported his discovery, Constantine ordered the erection of two magnificent churches, one, called the Martyrium, in memory of the finding of the Cross, and the other, the Anastasis, over the Holy Sepulchre. It was necessary, in the first place, to level the surface of the hill, and apparently all the rock round the tomb believed to be the Holy Sepulchre, was cut away, so as to isolate it completely. The Martyrium, or Church of the Cross, the more important of the two buildings, was situated to the east, and the Anastasis to the west, both being placed in one large court, surrounded with colonnades; while between the two churches, and not covered by any building, was the little elevation known as Mount Golgotha.

The two magnificent churches of Constantine have entirely disappeared, with the exception of a few pieces of masonry, which may possibly have formed part of them, and even their form is not known, as the descriptions of them given by Eusebius in his *Life of Constantine* are difficult to understand, and have given rise to much controversy.

The Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine, who visited Jerusalem, built two churches on the Mount of Olives, one, called the Imbomon, on the traditional site of the Ascension, and the other, called the Eleona, in honour of the cave in which Jesus Christ is supposed to have taught his disciples. The foundations of the latter church, which was destroyed by the Persians in the seventh century, have recently been discovered by the White Fathers of St. Anne in the courtyard, and under the cloisters of the modern church of the Pater Noster, near the summit of the Mount of Olives. The Empress Helena also built the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, which, although restored from time to time, has not been materially altered since the time of its construction.

The adoption of Christianity as the religion of the Roman empire, and the erection of the churches of Golgotha and of the Holy Sepulchre by Constantine, had, of course, an important effect on Jerusalem, and numbers of pilgrims from all parts of the world flocked to worship in the new churches. But, when the Emperor Julian succeeded Constantine, he changed the policy as regards Christianity, and allowed the Jews to return to Jerusalem, even giving them permission to rebuild the Temple. Their attempt to carry this out, however, ended in failure, and, under Jovian, the next emperor, the Jews were again excluded from Jerusalem.

The earliest Christian pilgrim to the Holy Land, who has left an account of his travels, was a certain person, usually known as the Bordeaux pilgrim, as he wrote anonymously, who, travelling from Bordeaux through France, Italy, Constantinople, and Asia Minor, reached Jerusalem at the time that the churches of Constantine were in course of construction. Entering the city from the north, he passed by the Pool of

Bethesda, saw the statue of the Emperor Hadrian which had been erected on the site of the Temple of the Jews, and then, leaving the Pool of Siloam on the left, ascended the western hill of Jerusalem, which he calls Sion. Then he passed by what he describes as the palace of David, evidently Herod's tower, now called the tower of David, and descended to the Holy Sepulchre and Golgotha, of which he says: "On the left hand is the little hill of Golgotha, where the Lord was crucified. About a stone's throw from thence is a crypt wherein His body was laid, and rose again on the third day. At present, by command of the Emperor Constantine, there is being built a basilica, that is to say, a church, of wondrous beauty." The only other church he mentions as existing at that time in Jerusalem was the church built by the Empress Helena on the Mount of Olives.

Sixty years later another pilgrim, a lady named Etheria, who is sometimes called St. Sylvia, wrote a full account of her travels in the East. She mentions the two churches of Constantine, the Martyrium and the Anastasis, the churches built by Helena on the Mount of Olives, and a church on Sion, to commemorate the place where the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles at Pentecost. As this church is not mentioned by the Bordeaux pilgrim, it seems to have been built after the time of his visit. The above appear to have been the only Christian churches built during the fourth century in Jerusalem.

In A.D. 395, the Roman dominions were finally divided between the two sons of Theodosius the Great, Arcadius, the elder, becoming emperor of the Eastern, or, as it was called, the Greek empire, while Honorius, the younger, was made emperor of the Western, or Roman empire. From that time forward the connection of Jerusalem with Rome came to an

end, as it was included within the dominions of the Greek empire, and it depended on Constantinople, the capital of the latter. For more than two centuries Jerusalem was under the Greek emperors, and during this period it enjoyed peace, and steadily increased in wealth and importance, while a considerable number of new churches were built.

Several of these churches were due to the pious zeal of the Empress Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius II, who, after a chequered career, retired to Jerusalem, where she resided for ten years, and died in A.D. 460. Of these churches the most important was a large basilica, built in honour of St. Stephen, near the place where he was believed to have been stoned to death, outside the Damascus Gate. Here the empress was buried in accordance with her own wishes. This basilica was destroyed by the Persians when they captured the city in A.D. 614, and it was lost until the foundations were discovered in 1881. The church has now been rebuilt by the Dominican Fathers of St. Stephen on the foundations of the original basilica. The Empress Eudocia also spent much money on the repair of the walls of Jerusalem, and it is probable that she rebuilt the south wall on the old line which it had followed before the demolition by Titus, enclosing the whole of the western and eastern hills, as parts of the remains of this wall, which were discovered by Dr. F. Bliss during his explorations in 1894–7, are of a Byzantine character. The church at the Pool of Siloam, also discovered by Dr. Bliss, may possibly date from the time of Eudocia.

Towards the end of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth century, three more churches were built in Jerusalem, which were: the church of St. Mary, on the site of the existing church of St. Anne, erected in memory of the traditional place of the birth of

the Virgin Mary; the church of St. Mary in the Valley of the Kedron, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, where the Virgin is said to have been buried; and the church of St. Sophia, or of the Holy Ghost. The last church has completely disappeared, and its site has been the subject of much controversy; but, judging from the accounts of it given by early pilgrims, it is not improbable that it was situated near the south gate of the city in what is now the Jewish quarter.

About the middle of the sixth century, another magnificent church was built by the Emperor Justinian, in honour of the Virgin Mary, which has also disappeared, and of which the site is not certainly known. Some writers have put forward the view that it stood in the Haram enclosure at the place now occupied by the Mosque of Aksa; but it is more likely that it was on the southern part of the western hill, and that its position is marked by the building known as the Cœnaculum, or Tomb of David, a little way outside the Sion Gate. This position is in accord with the description of it given by Procopius, who wrote an account of the different churches built by Justinian throughout the Greek empire, and is confirmed by a very interesting mosaic map of Palestine, which was discovered a few years since in the city of Medeba, east of the Jordan. This mosaic, which probably dates about the end of the sixth century, contains a plan of Jerusalem, which shows very distinctly the walls, the streets, and the different churches. This plan shows the great church of Golgotha, built by Constantine, the three churches of St. Mary, and another large church, probably St. Sophia, in the positions which have been described. Very curiously, the Temple enclosure is not shown on the plan, which rather confirms the idea that the Christians regarded it with abhorrence, for, had

Justinian's great church stood on the site of the Mosque of Aksa, it would certainly have been shown on the Medeba mosaic. In connection with the basilica of St. Mary, Justinian built a hospital for the sick poor and a hospice for the reception of pilgrims, both men and women. Antoninus Martyr, who visited Jerusalem about A.D. 570, relates that he was received as a pilgrim in this hospice, and that in the hospital there were more than three thousand beds for sick persons.

For nearly five hundred years since the rebuilding of the city by the Emperor Hadrian Jerusalem had been free from war, but the state of peace came to an end in A.D. 614, when Chosroes II, the king of Persia, who had overrun Syria and Asia Minor, sent an army into Palestine to capture this country from the Greeks. As the Persian army marched southwards, it was joined by many thousand Jews, who were determined to avail themselves of this opportunity of regaining what they considered to be their own city, and of revenging themselves upon the Christians, who had excluded them from it for so many years. Jerusalem was badly prepared for defence, as the Greek garrison was small, and the inhabitants quite untrained for war; and, when the Persians opened the siege, it did not take long for them to make a practicable breach in the north wall, and to capture the city.

Then followed a terrible massacre of the inhabitants, which appears to have been carried out more by the Jews, who had joined the Persian army, than by the Persians themselves. Theophanes states that there were ninety thousand persons killed, but this seems an exaggerated estimate, and, in an account written by a monk of the convent of St. Saba, the number of corpses actually buried is given as 62,455, of which

more than 24,000 were those of prisoners, who were collected at the pool of Mamila, and there killed in cold blood. A number of the churches in Jerusalem were destroyed, including the churches of Golgotha and of the Holy Sepulchre built by Constantine, of St. Stephen outside the Damascus Gate, of St. Sophia, of St. Mary in the Kedron valley, and of the Eleona on the Mount of Olives. Many of the inhabitants who escaped the massacre were carried into captivity, including the Patriarch Zacharias, and much spoil, including the wood of the True Cross, was taken. Then, Jerusalem having been captured and partially destroyed, the Persian army moved on to Egypt and conquered it.

Four years before the fall of Jerusalem, the Greek Emperor Phocas, a man of the worst character, who had brought the empire to the brink of ruin, was murdered, and was succeeded by Heraclius, the ablest general of the Greek army. For some years after his accession he was engaged in fighting the Persians in Asia Minor, and was quite unable to send assistance to Syria and Egypt, or to save Jerusalem. But, in A.D. 622, he succeeded in freeing Constantinople from the attack of the Persians, and in driving them back into Armenia. This success was followed by others, until at length, after repeated victories, Heraclius advanced into Persia, where Chosroes was utterly defeated and taken prisoner in A.D. 627, and Heraclius marched to Jerusalem in triumph, bringing with him the wood of the True Cross. Then the clergy and people told him of all that they had suffered, how the Jews had slaughtered more of the Christians than the Persians had done, and how they had ruined the churches; and they begged him to revenge them by killing all the Jews who lived in Palestine. Heraclius was unwilling to do this, as he had given the Jews

a written promise that their lives would be spared. But the monks continued to urge him, saying that they would take the burden of the crime upon themselves. At last, as Eutychius relates: "He consented to them in this matter, and slew countless numbers of the Jews who dwelt round about Jerusalem, and in the hill country of Galilee." The Christians thus had their revenge upon the Jews, but they did not escape the retribution that they had called down upon themselves.

For some years after the capture by the Persians, the churches of Jerusalem remained in ruins, and then Modestus, a monk of the convent of St. Theodosius, determined to make an effort to restore them. Travelling through Palestine, he collected money from the Christians, and rebuilt the church of the Holy Sepulchre; but the great basilica of the Martyrium was too completely destroyed to be repaired, and all that Modestus could do was to build a much smaller church, probably now represented by the chapel of St. Helena. He also restored a small church which had been built on Mount Calvary. The churches of St. Stephen, of St. Sophia, and of the Eleona on the Mount of Olives were not rebuilt, and were gradually forgotten. When Heraclius arrived in Jerusalem, he greatly praised the efforts of Modestus, who was appointed patriarch, as Zacharias had died in prison in Persia. Then Jerusalem was restored to peace, a peace that, however, proved to be very short-lived.

CHAPTER V

THE MAHOMEDAN CONQUEST

It was in the year A.D. 610, the year in which Heraclius had become emperor at Constantinople, that Mahomed, a man of the tribe of Koreish, living at Mecca, appears to have begun to doubt the truth of the idolatrous religion of the Arabians, and to have commenced his search after a knowledge of the True God. A few years later he felt that he had received a divine mission to preach, and gradually gathered round him a little band of persons whom he led to believe in the new revelation, and to abandon the heathen worship to which they had been accustomed. At first he was allowed to preach his doctrines without molestation, but, as his power gradually increased, and his followers became more numerous, the people of Mecca began to persecute the new sect, and Mahomed was obliged to fly to Medina, a city where he had already gained a considerable number of adherents. The date of his flight, July 16, A.D. 622, is counted as the first day of the first year of the Mahomedan era, known as the Hejira.

At Medina Mahomed was received with great joy, and there he built a mosque, and continued preaching his doctrine and endeavouring to turn the Arabians from idolatry to the worship of the True God, whom he recognized as the God of the Jews and the God of the Christians. Indeed, at first, the religion of

Mahomed was to a great extent based upon the Bible, and it was not until years afterwards that he taught that Islam had superseded the dispensations of the Old and of the New Testaments. At this time, too, he regarded Jerusalem as the place that had been appointed as the centre of all true religion, and instructed his followers to pray with their faces turned to the mountain, where the Temple of Jehovah had formerly stood. Some time before leaving Mecca he had had a dream, in which the Angel Gabriel had borne him on a winged steed to Jerusalem, where he was welcomed by the Prophets, and had prayed upon the sacred rock on Mount Moriah. But, after some little time, Mahomed began to realize that if the new religion was to succeed, the centre of it would have to be in Arabia, and not in Judæa; and he received a revelation, in which he was ordered to change the "Kibla," or point to which prayer was to be directed, from Jerusalem to Mecca, which, from that time, became the most sacred city of the Mahomedans, But, notwithstanding this, Jerusalem has always remained a holy city, and its important place in Islam was well expressed by Mukaddasi, who, writing in the tenth century, said: "As to the excellence of the city [Jerusalem]! Why, is not this to be the plain of marshalling on the Day of Judgment, where the gathering together and the appointment will take place? Verily Mecca and Medina have their superiority by reason of the Ka'aba, and of the Prophet—the blessing of God be upon him and his family—but verily, on the Day of Judgment, they will both come to Jerusalem, and the excellencies of them all will there be united." This position of Jerusalem in the teaching of Mahomed had an important effect on the after history of the city.

In the year following the arrival of Mahomed at

Medina, hostilities commenced between his followers and the inhabitants of Mecca; and, in the first battle, which was fought at Bedr, on the road from Medina to Yembo on the Red Sea, a caravan of the Koreish, which was returning from Syria to Mecca, was attacked and utterly defeated. Then followed seven years of war, and, at length, in A.D. 630, Mecca was captured, and all the idols in the temple that surrounded the Ka'aba were destroyed. The call to prayer was made from the roof of the Ka'aba, and for the first time the service of worship was conducted according to the ritual instituted by Mahomed. This was the definite establishment of Islam as the religion of Arabia, and the first step in the long career of conquest achieved by the successors of Mahomed throughout the world.

It has already been mentioned that it was in the year A.D. 622, that the Emperor Heraclius started on his first successful campaign against the Persians. News of the advance of the Greeks into Asia Minor reached Mahomed at Medina soon after his flight from Mecca, and he was glad to hear of the victories of the Christians, as he believed that they, in fighting against the fire-worshippers of Persia, were engaged on the same work that he was carrying out in Arabia, namely to overcome the heathen religions and turn mankind to the worship of the True God. But, as time passed on, his ideas with regard to Christianity altered, and, in A.D. 629, when the Emperor Heraclius was on the march to Jerusalem after the overthrow of the Persians, Mahomed sent an embassy to him, inviting him to cast aside the worship of Jesus, and to accept the faith of Islam; but no answer appears to have been sent to this message. Soon afterwards a small army of Arabians, which had marched from Medina to the southern border of Syria, was com-

pletely defeated by a division of the Greek army at Muta, near the Dead Sea, and was driven back into Arabia. This was the only occasion during the lifetime of Mahomed that his followers crossed swords with the Christians.

In A.D. 632 it was decided to organize another expedition on a larger scale, with the object of marching into Syria and taking vengeance for the defeat, and Mahomed appointed to the command a certain Osama, whose father, Zeid, had led the previous expedition and had been killed at the battle of Muta, and to Osama he presented a banner with these words: "Fight thou beneath this banner in the name of the Lord, and for His cause. Thus thou shalt discomfit and slay the people that believe not in the Lord." The presentation of this banner was the last public act of the Prophet, who was taken ill the same day, and died within a fortnight, on June 8, A.D. 632.

Immediately after the death of the Prophet, Abu Bekr, who had been one of his earliest converts, and was his only companion on the flight from Mecca to Medina, was elected to succeed him, and was accepted by the people as the first Khalif; but the choice was distasteful to Aly, who had married Fatima, Mahomed's daughter, and who considered that this relationship gave him the right to the leadership. As soon as Mahomed had been buried, Abu Bekr completed the preparations for the dispatch of Osama's army, and ordered him to march northwards without any delay. Within twenty days of his departure, Osama invaded the Belka'a, the province of Syria lying eastward of the Dead Sea, and ravaged the country, thus taking vengeance for the defeat of the Moslems and the death of his father Zeid. He then returned in triumph to Medina with the booty he had captured, while Heraclius, who now realized that a formidable

enemy had arisen in Arabia, began to make arrangements for the defence of Syria.

During the following year Abu Bekr was too much occupied with the affairs of Arabia to think of foreign conquest, but, having subdued the tribes which were hostile to him, he turned his attention to the north in A.D. 633, and organized two armies for the conquest of Persia and the southern dominions of the Greek empire. Of these armies the first, under the command of Khalid, one of the greatest Mahomedan generals, marched across the desert to the Persian Gulf, and, after defeating the Persians in several battles, advanced up the Euphrates and captured Hira, the capital of Chaldæa. The second army took the north road from Medina, through Eastern Syria, and captured Duma in the Hauran.

Other detachments followed, and, by the spring of A.D. 634, a Moslem army of about 40,000 men had been collected in Syria, under the command of Khalid, ready to meet a force of more than 200,000 which Heraclius sent to resist them. After some preliminary fighting, the two armies met face to face at Yacusa on the Yermuk, a stream which flows into the Jordan from the east at a point a little south of the Sea of Galilee, and is now followed by the line of railway from Haifa to Damascus. Here, after a long and desperate struggle, the Byzantine army was totally defeated, in a battle that proved to be one of the most important ever fought, as it led to the conquest of all the Asiatic dominions of the Greek empire by the Mahomedans.

Abu Bekr never heard of this great victory over the Christians, as he died at Medina shortly before the battle, and was succeeded by Omar, the second of the four great Khalifs. Omar, too, had not heard of the victory, and his first act was to send a messenger to

Khalid, whom he did not like, ordering him to hand over the command of his army to Abu Obeidah, one of the subordinate generals. Khalid, acting with great discretion, concealed the dispatch until the battle was over, and then loyally surrendered his commission to Abu Obeidah, who, knowing that Khalid was the better general, made him his chief adviser, so that the latter remained the real, although not the nominal head of the army.

The capture of Damascus and of the Syrian cities west of the Jordan followed, and then Abu Obeidah marched north, pursuing the remains of the Greek army, while Amr Ebn el Asy was sent with another army south, to complete the conquest of Syria and Palestine. Step by step Heraclius was driven back, Aleppo and Antioch were lost, and then the emperor lost heart and took ship for Constantinople. Meanwhile Amr proceeded with the conquest of Palestine, capturing all the principal towns as far as Gaza, and Jerusalem alone maintained the standard of the Greeks. But its turn was soon to come, and, early in A.D. 637, Amr encamped in front of the city, where he was joined by Abu Obeidah himself, who, having completed his campaign in the north, determined to take personal command of the operations for the capture of Jerusalem.

Of this siege, which is said to have lasted four months, little is accurately known, and the details given by Arab writers vary considerably; but it is certain that, after it had gone on for some time, the garrison realized that there was no chance of assistance being sent from Constantinople, and that sooner or later they would be obliged to surrender. Then Sophronius the Patriarch, who seems to have taken the command, made Abu Obeidah an offer of surrender, on the condition that the Khalif Omar himself should

come from Mecca to receive the capitulation in person, and that the churches, lives, and property of the Christians should be spared.

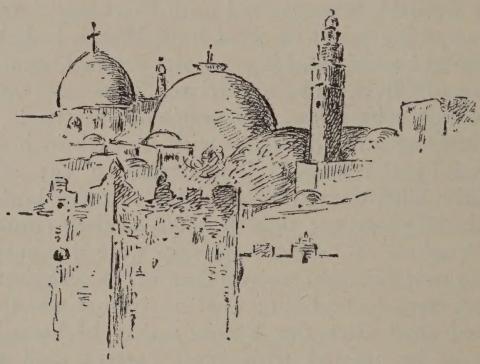
It is very remarkable that Abu Obeidah agreed to these terms, and that Omar at once consented to come to Jerusalem, but it must be remembered that in the eyes of the Moslems it was a holy city, and therefore regarded in a very different light from any of the other places which they had captured.

An armistice was observed until there was time for Omar and his escort to come from Mecca, and then, as soon as he arrived, his camp was pitched upon the Mount of Olives, and the patriarch, who came out to tender his submission, was graciously received, and the terms of surrender made with Abu Obeidah were ratified by the Khalif. These were to the effect that the Christians were to enjoy security both of person and property; that the safety of their churches and freedom of religious worship were guaranteed, but no new churches, convents or other ecclesiastical edifices were to be built; that no tribute was to be exacted until after the harvest; that Mahomedans were to be treated with great respect, and that Mahomedans and Christians were to live in amity with one another. Then, the treaty having been signed, Omar requested the patriarch to bring him into the city.

The following account of Omar's entry is given by Shams ed Din es Suyuti, which he states was handed down in the family of an Arab who was present on this interesting occasion:[1] "Then Omar, as soon as he was at leisure from the writing of the treaty of capitulation between him and the people of the Holy City, said to the patriarch of Jerusalem, 'Conduct us

[1] See Translation by Guy l'Estrange in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.*

to the Mosque of David.' And the patriarch agreed thereto. Then Omar went forth girt with his sword, and four thousand of the Companions who had come to Jerusalem with him, all begirt likewise with their swords, and a crowd of us Arabs, who had come up to the Holy City, followed them, none of us bearing any weapons except our swords. And the patriarch walked before Omar among the Companions, and we all behind the Khalif. Thus we entered the Holy City.



DOMES OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

And the patriarch took us to the church which goes by the name of the Kumameh [*i. e.* the Holy Sepulchre], and said he, 'This is David's Mosque.' And Omar looked around and pondered; then he answered the patriarch, 'Thou liest, for the Apostle described to me the Mosque of David, and, by his description, this is not it.' Then the patriarch went on with us to a church called that of Sion, and again he said, 'This is the Mosque of David.' But the Khalif replied to him, 'Thou liest.' So the patriarch went on with him till he came to the Noble Sanctuary [*i. e.* the

Haram enclosure] of the Holy City and reached the gate thereof, called the Gate of Mahomed. Now the rubbish which was then all about the Noble Sanctuary had settled on the steps of this gate, so that it even came out into the street when the gate opened, and it had accumulated so greatly on the steps as almost to reach up to the ceiling of the gateway. The patriarch said to Omar, 'It is impossible to proceed and enter, except crawling on hands and knees.' Then said Omar, 'Even on hands and knees be it.' So the patriarch went down on hands and knees, preceding Omar, and we all crawled after him, until he had brought us out into the court of the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City. Then we arose off our knees and stood upright. And Omar looked around, pondering for a long time. Then said he, 'By Him in whose hands is my soul! this is the place described to us by the Apostle of Allah.'"

Then Omar inquired as to the position of the sacred rock, and he was told, "Measure from the wall which is on the Wady Jehannum [the Valley of Kedron] so many ells; then dig and ye shall discover it; at the present day it is a dung-heap." Omar then ordered the rock to be quite cleared of all the rubbish, which was thrown in the Valley of the Kedron. Then he commanded that a temporary mosque should be built, not over the Sakhrah, but at the side of it, and this was the only place of worship erected by the Khalif in Jerusalem. It was described by Arculfus, a Christian pilgrim who visited Palestine about thirty years later, in the following words: "But in that renowned place, where once the Temple had been magnificently constructed, placed in the neighbourhood of the wall on the east, the Saracens now frequent a four-sided house of prayer, which they have built rudely, constructing it by raising boards and great

beams on some remains of ruins; this house can, it is said, hold three thousand men at once."

It was satisfactory, in the interests of peace, that the Mahomedans should have been anxious to get possession of the one place in Jerusalem which the Christians disliked, and which they had only used as the dust-heap of the city. Those who have been in Cairo and have seen the mounds of rubbish outside the north wall will be able to realize how completely the sacred rock at Jerusalem would have been covered up, and how easily its position would have been lost. If it had not been for the determination of Omar to find it, it is quite possible that it would have been lost altogether, and archæologists would now deny its existence.

During the early years of the Moslem occupation the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem appear to have lived on excellent terms with their new masters, the only change being that they paid tribute to Mecca instead of Constantinople. They kept their churches, and pilgrims were allowed to come freely to the Holy City as before. This is clearly shown by the account of his travels given by Arculfus, already referred to, who seems to have been able to go through the country without any hindrance, and who makes no allusion to the Saracens, as he calls them, except in the passage dealing with the temporary mosque, constructed by Omar, already quoted; and in his account of the city of Damascus, where he says: "The king of the Saracens has seized the government, and reigns in that city, and a large church has been built there in honour of St. John the Baptist. There has also been built, in that same city, a church of unbelieving Saracens, which they frequent."

There is no clear account of the state of the walls of Jerusalem after the Moslem occupation, but it

THE DAMASCUS GATE

appears probable that while the west, north and east walls remained unchanged, the south wall, which had been rebuilt by the Empress Eudocia, enclosing the whole of the western hill, had been allowed to fall again into ruin, and that the Saracens had their south wall on the same line as that built by the Emperor Hadrian, that is to say, on the line of the present south wall of the city. It is not unlikely that this change took place between the time of the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in A.D. 614, and the occupation by Omar in A.D. 637, as the population had been greatly reduced by the massacre of 60,000 people, and there was not sufficient time for them to be replaced by fresh comers from without. On the other hand, it is possible that it was Omar who reduced the size of the city, realizing that it was too large for purposes of defence.

Arculfus, when he visited Jerusalem, saw the churches of the Holy Sepulchre as they had been restored by Modestus, and he gives a rough sketch of them, which shows clearly that the great basilica of the Martyrium, built by Constantine, had completely disappeared, and had been replaced by a smaller church, probably that now known as the chapel of St. Helena. He also mentions the church of St. Mary near the Holy Sepulchre, the great basilica of St. Mary on Sion, the church of the burial place of St. Mary in the Valley of the Kedron, and the church of the Ascension ; but he makes no reference to the church of St. Stephen outside the Damascus Gate, the church of St. Sophia, the church of the Pool of Siloam, or the church of the Eleona on the Mount of Olives, which shows that these churches, which were destroyed by the Persians, were *not* restored by Modestus. This is not to be wondered at, as the funds at his disposal for the repair of the churches were limited in amount,

and it was impossible for him to take in hand all the buildings.

After the capture of Jerusalem, the Mahomedans conquered Egypt, and completed the subjugation of Persia. Omar consolidated his power in Arabia, and all seemed going well with him, when his career was brought to a sudden end, as he was assassinated at Medina in A.D. 644, by Abu Lulu, a Persian slave, who had been taken captive during the war. Thus Islam lost Omar, the greatest of the Khalifs. He was succeeded by Othman, who was elected as the third Khalif, to the bitter disappointment of Aly, who imagined that this time he was sure to be chosen for the coveted post. This feeling on the part of Aly led in the end to the division of the Moslems into the two sects of the Sunni and the Shiah, but, for the moment, he concealed his feelings and swore allegiance to Othman. The latter ruled for twelve years with more or less success, and was then murdered by a body of rebels, who, instigated by Aly, captured the city of Medina, before Moawiyeh, the governor of Damascus, who had been appointed by Omar and was a whole-hearted supporter of Othman, could come to the assistance of the Khalif.

Then at last, under compulsion of the rebels, the men of Medina elected Aly as Khalif in A.D. 656, and he thus obtained the position which he had coveted for twenty-four years. Soon afterwards he started for Kufa in Chaldæa, which he proposed to make the seat of the Khalifate instead of Mecca or Medina. Then followed war among the Moslems; Egypt revolted, and Moawiyeh became practically independent. The contest ended by the assassination of Aly at Kufa, when his son Hassan was elected to succeed him, but soon resigned in favour of Moawiyeh, who had already been chosen as Khalif by his adherents,

because they considered Aly to be an unworthy successor of Mahomed. The resignation of Hassan simplified the matter, and Moawiyeh became sole Khalif in A.D. 661. He was the first of the Omeyyad dynasty of Khalifs, who had their seat of government in Damascus, and ruled the Moslems for nearly one hundred years. Like Mahomed himself, Moawiyeh was descended from Kossai, who had been the head chief of the Arabs at Mecca in the fifth century, his great-grandfather, Omeyya, from whom the dynasty got its name, having been first cousin to Abd el Muttaleb, the grandfather of the prophet.

So far as Jerusalem was concerned, the change of the head-quarters of the Moslem government from Medina to Damascus was not of much consequence, and indeed it may have been an advantage, as it brought the ruler, to whom the city owed allegiance and paid tribute, into closer proximity, and Moawiyeh was very friendly to the Christians. As a proof of this, a curious story may be mentioned which was told to Arculfus, who made his visit to Palestine during the reign of the Khalif Moawiyeh. Among other relics which were shown to him at the Holy Sepulchre, was the napkin in which the head of the Lord Jesus was wrapped when His body was laid in the Tomb after the Crucifixion. It was stated that this napkin had been taken after the Resurrection by a Jew, who was one of the disciples of the Lord, and had been handed down as a precious heirloom in the family of this Jew for many generations; but, in process of time, the family died out, and the napkin came into the possession of an unbelieving Jew, who, rather remarkably, preserved it with great reverence. Knowledge of the fact having come to the Christian Jews, there was a contention between them and the unbelieving Jews as to the ownership of the napkin,

and, as they could not settle it among themselves, both parties agreed to refer the question to Moawiyeh, who adjudicated upon the matter in the following manner—

"Upon this, Moawiyeh, the King of the Saracens, was appealed to by both parties to adjudicate between them, and he said to the unbelieving Jews, who were persistently retaining the Lord's napkin, 'Give the sacred linen cloth, which you have, into my hand.' In obedience to the king's command, they bring it from its casket, and place it in his bosom. Receiving it with great reverence, the king ordered a great fire to be made in the square before all the people, and, while it was burning fiercely, he rose, and going up to the fire, addressed both contending parties in a loud voice: 'Now let Christ, the Saviour of the world, who suffered for the human race, upon whose head this napkin, which I now hold in my bosom, was placed in the Sepulchre, judge between you by the flame of fire, so that you may know to which of these two contending hosts this great gift may most worthily be entrusted.' Saying this, he threw the sacred napkin of the Lord into the flames, but the fire could in no way touch it, for, rising whole and untouched out of the fire, it began to fly on high, like a bird with outstretched wings, and, looking down from a great height upon the contending parties, placed opposite one another as if they were two armies in battle array, it flew round in mid air for some moments. Then slowly descending, under the guidance of God, it inclined towards the party of the Christians, who meanwhile prayed earnestly to Christ, the Judge, and finally it settled in the bosom of one of them. Raising their hands to heaven, and bending the knee with great gladness, they give thanks to God, and received the Lord's napkin with great honour, a gift to be

venerated as sent to them from heaven. They render praises in their hymns to Christ, who gave it, and they cover it up in another linen cloth, and put it away in a casket in the church."

Moawiyeh reigned as Khalif for nearly twenty years, and greatly extended the power of Islam both in Asia and in Africa. Some little time before his death, he decided that his son Yezid should succeed him, and, on the occasion of his last pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, he called upon the inhabitants of these cities to swear allegiance to Yezid, but they refused to do so, on the ground that the office of Khalif was one that should be filled by election and by the consent of the faithful. Upon this Moawiyeh called in his soldiers and compelled them to take the oath, and, from this time forward, the dignity of Khalif became hereditary.

In A.D. 680 Moawiyeh died, and, in accordance with his arrangement, was succeeded by Yezid, who was accepted as Khalif by Syria and the greater part of the Mahomedan dominions, but there were many people in Arabia who would have preferred Hussein, son of the Khalif Aly, as they considered he had a better claim than Yezid. Hussein was at Mecca at the time of Moawiyeh's death, and, unfortunately for himself, decided to start for Kufa, where he had many adherents. But, before he could arrive there, Kufa had fallen into the hands of Obeidallah, one of Yezid's generals, who, hearing of Hussein's departure from Mecca, sent an army to stop his advance.

Hussein succeeded in reaching Kerbela, a place about fifty miles north of Kufa, with a small body of less than one hundred men, when Obeidallah's army met him and massacred the whole party, including Hussein himself, six of his brothers, two of his sons, two nephews, the sons of his brother Hassan, and other members of the family. All those killed were de-

capitated, and seventy heads were sent to Obeidallah to show how completely the work of extermination had been carried out. The day of the great massacre, the tenth Moharram, A.H. 61 (*i. e.* October 10, A.D. 680), has never been forgotten by the Shiah, and is kept in memory every year by the performance of the passion play of Hussein and Hassan, so well known to travellers in the East.

The murder of Hussein and his relations led to a wide-spread rebellion, and Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, one of the Companions of Mahomed, having been elected as Khalif at Mecca, threw off his allegiance to Damascus, and started a rival kingdom in Arabia. Yezid sent an army into Arabia, which besieged Mecca and burned the Ka'aba, but his death put an end to the war, and the Syrian army retired without having subdued Abdallah, who rebuilt and enlarged the Temple of the Ka'aba. Yezid was succeeded as Khalif by his son, who only lived three months, and was followed by Merwan, a distant cousin, who was murdered by his wife before he had reigned a year. Then Abd el Melik, the son of Merwan, and fifth Khalif of the Omeyyad dynasty, came to the throne, and his reign had an important effect on the history of Jerusalem, because, as Mecca was in the hands of a rival Khalif, he decided to make Jerusalem an important centre for Mahomedan pilgrimage by building a magnificent shrine over the sacred rock, and by erecting a mosque which would vie with the great mosque of the Ka'aba at Mecca. Up to that time there had only been the temporary wooden mosque in the Haram which had been put up by Omar after the occupation of Jerusalem, and which, probably, in the course of sixty years, had fallen out of repair. It should therefore be remembered that, just as King Herod had rebuilt the Temple of the Jews for political

reasons, so the Khalif Abd el Melik constructed the Dome of the Rock rather from motives of policy than of religion.

Abd el Melik, being anxious to have the good wishes of his subjects in the important undertaking, sent a circular dispatch to the governors of the different provinces, asking whether they concurred. Letters were received in reply, greatly approving of the proposal, and the Khalif set apart large sums for the erection of the Dome of the Rock, the Mosque of Aksa, and the Noble Sanctuary, now called the Haram, which enclosed the two buildings.

There is sometimes a little confusion as to the use of the name "Mosque of Aksa," and the meaning of the word requires explanation. The word "Mosque" is a European corruption of the Arab word "Masjid," which means a place of prayer. In Moslem parlance the whole of the Noble Sanctuary (el Haram es Sherif), or Haram enclosure at Jerusalem, is the Mosque of Aksa, while the building at the south end of the enclosure, usually spoken of as the Mosque of Aksa, should really be called the Jami el Aksa, or place of assembly in the Aksa. But, as the former name is generally understood, in the following pages the Jami el Aksa will be referred to as the Mosque of Aksa, and the whole enclosure as the Haram. The Dome of the Rock, or, as it should be called, the Kubbet es Sakhrah, is not a mosque, but a shrine built to cover the Holy Rock. The name sometimes given to it of "the Mosque of Omar," is doubly incorrect, as it is not a mosque, and was not built by Omar.

The Dome of the Rock may be regarded as the direct descendant of the Temple of Solomon, as it stands over the same rock that formed the floor of the Holy of Holies of the Temple (*see* p. 36); but there was this difference, that, whereas the Holy of

Holies was only entered by the High Priest once a year, and access to it was forbidden to the Jewish priests and people; on the other hand, after the Moslem occupation of Jerusalem, the Rock was made a place of prayer for *all* Mahomedans, and a pilgrimage to it was nearly as valuable as to the Ka'aba at Mecca itself.

The Dome of the Rock is practically the same as when originally built by Abd el Melik—although it has been injured by earthquakes and restored from time to time—with the exception that the outer eight walls have been added; as, at first, the colonnade was quite open, and it must have considerably resembled the Dome of the Chain, which stands to the east of it, and which, according to tradition, was built as a model for the larger building. Mukaddasi, who was born in Jerusalem in A.D. 946, and who wrote an excellent account of the province of Syria, described the Dome of the Rock, as he knew it, in the following words—

"Within the building are three concentric colonnades, with columns of the most beautiful marble, polished, and above is a low vaulting. Within these again is the central hall over the Rock; the hall is circular, not octagonal, and is surrounded by columns of polished marble, supporting round arches. Built above these, and rising high into the air, is the drum, in which are large openings; and over the drum is the Dome. The Dome from the floor up to the pinnacle, which rises into the air, is in height a hundred cubits, and, from afar off, you may perceive on the summit of the Dome its beautiful pinnacle, the size of which is a fathom and a span. The Dome externally is completely covered with brass plates, gilt, while the building itself, its floor and its walls, and the drum, are ornamented with marbles and mosiacs."

A large part of the materials used in the construction

DOME OF THE ROCK FROM THE NORTH

of the Dome of the Rock were taken from the ruins of older buildings, especially the columns and the capitals, but of these there was an ample supply in Jerusalem from the Byzantine churches which had been overthrown by the Persians, including the great basilica of Constantine, the churches of St. Stephen and St. Sophia, and of the Eleona on the Mount of Olives. These churches had never been rebuilt, and their materials must have been very suitable for use in the construction of the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Aksa. Of the mosaics described by Mukaddasi there still remains at least one, an inscription in Kufic characters, which runs round the colonnade, recording the erection of the building in A.D. 691 by Abd el Melik. In this inscription the name of Abd el Melik has been obliterated, and that of a later Khalif, Abdallah el Mamun, substituted; but the change was badly made, and the forger omitted to alter the date. As this inscription is a declaration of the Moslem faith at that time, and as it also expresses the views of the early Mahomedans with regard to the Christian religion, it seems worth while to give a translation of it.[1]

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

"There is no God but God alone; He hath no partner; His is the Kingdom, His the praise. He giveth life and death, for He is the Almighty.

"There is no God but God alone; He hath no partner; Mahomed is the Apostle of God; pray God for him.

"The servant of God, Abd el Melik, Commander of the Faithful, built this Dome in the year seventy-

[1] This translation was made by the late Prof. E. H. Palmer.

two [A.D. 691]. May God accept it at his hand, and be content with him, Amen. The restoration is complete, and to God be the praise.

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

"There is no God but God alone; He hath no partner; Say, He is the one God, the Eternal; He neither begetteth nor is begotten, and there is no one like Him. Mahomed is the Apostle of God; pray God for him.

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

"There is no God but God, and Mahomed is the Apostle of God; pray God for him. Verily, God and His angels pray for the Prophet. Oh ye who believe, pray for him, and salute him with the salutations of peace. There is no God but God alone; to Him be praise, who taketh not to Himself a son, and to whom none can be a partner in His kingdom, and whose patron no lower creature can be. Magnify ye Him. Mahomed is the Apostle of God; God and His angels and apostles pray for him; and peace be upon him and the mercy of God.

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

"There is no God but God alone; He hath no partner; His is the kingdom, and His the praise; He giveth life and death, for He is Almighty. Verily, God and His angels pray for the Prophet. Oh ye who believe, pray for him, and salute him with salutations of peace.

"Oh ye who have received the Scriptures, exceed not the bounds in your religion, and speak not aught but truth concerning God. Verily Jesus Christ, the Son of Mary, is the Apostle of God, and His Word which He cast over Mary, and a Spirit from Him.

Then believe in God, and His apostles, and do not say there are three Gods; forbear, and it will be better for you. God is but One. Far be it from Him that He should have a son. To Him belongeth whatsoever is in the heaven and in the earth; He is a sufficient protector. Christ does not disdain to be a servant of God, not do the angels, who are near the throne. Whosoever, then, disdains His service and is puffed up with pride, God shall gather them all at the last day.

"O God, pray for Thy Apostle Jesus, the Son of Mary; peace be upon me the day I am born, and the day I die, and the day I am raised to life again. That is Jesus, the Son of Mary, concerning whom ye doubt. It is not for God to take unto Himself a son; far be it from Him. If He decree a thing, He doth but say unto it, 'Be,' and it is. God is my God, and yours. Serve Him, this is the right way. God hath testified that there is no God but He, and the angels, and the beings endowed with knowledge, testify it. He executeth righteousness. There is no God but He, the Mighty, the Wise. Verily the true religion in the sight of God is Islam [*i. e.* submission of the soul to God]. Say, 'Praise be to God, who taketh not unto Himself a son; whose partner in the Kingdom none can be; whose patron no lower creature can be.

"Magnify ye God."

Besides the Dome of the Rock, the Khalif Abd el Melik built the Mosque of Aksa in the southern part of the Haram, to take the place of the wooden building erected by Omar, and, for this also, columns, capitals etc., were taken from the ruins of older structures. The Mosque, as erected by Abd el Melik, no longer exists, as it has been destroyed several times by earthquakes, and rebuilt by different Khalifs. But the

position of the mihrab, or prayer niche, in the south wall, has never been changed, and the columns have probably been used again in the successive restorations. The fact that these, and the capitals, are Byzantine, may have given rise to the theory, already alluded to, that the Aksa Mosque was based on the great basilica of St. Mary, built by the Emperor Justinian; but this is most improbable, and there is no allusion to a Christian church in the Haram in the early records, either Christian or Mahomedan.

From the time of Abd el Melik the Haram was regarded as specially sacred by Mahomedans, and Christians and Jews were rigidly excluded from it; in consequence of this, the Christian pilgrims who visited Jerusalem between the date of the erection of the Dome of the Rock and the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in A.D. 1099 do not even mention it. For example, Willibald, an English monk, who afterwards became bishop of Eichstadt in Germany, made a journey to the East in the eighth century, during which he stopped four different times in Jerusalem; but he never alludes to the Mahomedan buildings. The Christian churches which he describes are the same as those mentioned by Arculfus in the preceding century, so that no new ones appear to have been built.

The Omeyyad dynasty came to an end in A.D. 750, when Merwan II was overcome and slain by Abdul Abbas, a descendant of Abbas, the uncle of Mahomed, who became the first Khalif of the Abbaside dynasty and removed the centre of government from Damascus to Kufa; his successor, Abu Jafar, made a further change, and transferred it to Bagdad on the Tigris. During the reign of Abu Jafar there was a severe earthquake in Jerusalem, which greatly damaged the Mosque of Aksa, and, while the repairs were in pro-

gress, there was another earthquake, more violent than the first, which completely ruined the building. It was rebuilt on a new plan in A.D. 781 by the Khalif El Mahdi, being made shorter and wider than the mosque of Abd el Melik.

The next Khalif was the well-known Harun er Rashid, who was well disposed towards the Christians, and made a treaty of friendship with the Emperor Charlemagne, whom he allowed to restore the churches at the Holy Sepulchre and to build a new church, dedicated to St. Mary. In connection with this church, which stood to the south of the church on Golgotha, Charlemagne built a hospice for the reception of pilgrims visiting the Holy Places. The Spanish pilgrim, known as Bernard the Wise, relates how "he was received into the hostel of the most glorious Emperor Charles, where all are admitted who come to the place for devotional reasons, and speak the Roman tongue. Close to it is a church in honour of St. Mary, which has a noble library, through the care of the aforesaid emperor, with twelve dwelling houses, fields, vineyards and a garden in the Valley of Jehoshaphat."

In consequence of this church and hospice having been built in special connection with the Roman church, and for the use of Latin-speaking pilgrims, it got the name of St. Mary Latina. Although the ostensible reason for providing the church and hospice was to meet the wants of pilgrims, it is probable that the real reason was to emphasize the fact that the Greek and Roman churches had separated; and that a new Roman empire had been established, which refused allegiance to the Greek emperor at Constantinople.

In process of time the Dome of the Rock, which had been shaken by the earthquakes that had destroyed the Mosque of Aksa, was getting sadly in want of

repair, and the Khalif Mamun, son of Harun er Rashid, who came to the throne in A.D. 813, spent large sums on its restoration. It is probable that it was at this time that the octagonal exterior wall was built which surrounds the colonnades and adds greatly to the stability of the structure. It has already been mentioned how the Kufic inscription which recorded the erection of the Dome by Abd el Melik was altered by the architect of Mamun, so as to give the credit to this Khalif, who was the restorer, but not the original builder of the Dome.

Motassim, the brother of Mamun, who succeeded to the Khalifate in A.D. 833, engaged large numbers of Turkish soldiers for service in his army, and, as these Turks were very undisciplined and created much trouble in Bagdad, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants, he removed his residence to Samarra, eighty miles higher up the Tigris. From this time the authority of the Khalifs diminished, and the power of government fell more and more into the hands of the Turkish officials who obtained the administration of the provinces. In A.D. 868, Ahmed Ebn Tulun, the Turkish governor of Egypt, declared his independence, and, marching upon Syria, captured Damascus and Antioch, and advanced to Tarsus. Again, in A.D. 934, the government of Egypt was captured by another Turk, Mohamed el Ikhshid, who also took possession of Syria, and, during his reign, the Moslems in Jerusalem massacred a number of the Christians and burned the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

But still worse times came upon the city after the dynasty of the Fatemite Khalifs had established themselves at Cairo in A.D. 969, as Hakem, the sixth of the line, proved himself the greatest persecutor of the Christians that Islam had produced. He sent orders

to every city under his rule to destroy all the Christian churches, and so thoroughly were his orders carried out that, according to Makrizi, by the end of A.D. 1012, no less than three thousand churches were demolished in Syria and Egypt, among them being the churches of Jerusalem. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was razed to the ground, and an attempt was made to destroy the Tomb itself, but apparently without success. The destruction carried out was as complete as that effected by the Persians in A.D. 614; and it is easy to see, having regard to these two demolitions, that it is almost impossible that any of the masonry of the original churches built by Constantine can have survived. Fortunately, in A.D. 1021, the Christians were relieved from their persecutor, as he was murdered, it is said by order of his sister, on the Gebel Mokattem, above Cairo, where he was in the habit of going to worship the planet Saturn, and to converse with the devil.

In A.D. 1016, only a few years after the churches had been destroyed by the Khalif Hakem, there was a severe earthquake in Jerusalem, which threw down the cupola of the Dome of the Rock, and greatly damaged the Mosque of Aksa. The cupola was rebuilt and the Mosque was restored by the next Khalif, Ez Zahir, the son of Hakem, who also gave permission to the Christians to rebuild their churches. The work was carried out under the patronage of the Greek Emperor Romanus III, who sent architects to Jerusalem, and himself gave the funds for the restoration of the cupola of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which was completed by his successor, the Emperor Michael IV, in A.D. 1037.

Shortly after this rebuilding of the Christian and Mahomedan buildings, Jerusalem was visited by an intelligent Mahomedan gentleman, Nasir-i-Khusrau,

a native of Balkh in Afghanistan, who made a tour, lasting seven years, through the Mahomedan countries of Asia and Africa, and remained for some time in Jerusalem in A.D. 1047. He kept careful notes of all he saw, and, on his return home, wrote a very interesting account of his travels. The following extracts give a good idea of the city and its buildings, as they were fifty years before the First Crusade—

"I now propose to make a description of the Holy City. Jerusalem is a city set on a hill, and there is no water therein, except what falls in rain. The villages round have springs of water, but the Holy City has no springs. The city is enclosed by strong walls of stone, mortared, and there are iron gates. Round about the city are no trees, for it is all built on the rock. Jerusalem is a very great city, and, at the time of my visit, there were in it twenty thousand men. It has high, well built, and clean bazaars. All the streets are paved with slabs of stone, and, wheresoever there was a hill, or a height, they have cut it down and made it level, so that, as soon as the rain falls, the whole place is washed clean. There are in the city numerous artificers, and each craft has a separate bazaar. The Mosque [*i.e.* the Haram enclosure] lies at the east side of the city, whereby the eastern city wall forms also the wall of the court of the Mosque. When you have passed out of the Mosque, there lies before you a large level plain, called the Sahireh, which, it is said, will be the place of the Resurrection, where all mankind shall be gathered together. For this reason men from all parts of the world come hither to make their sojourn in the Holy City until death overtakes them, in order that, when the day fixed by God—be He praised and exalted!—shall arrive, they may thus be ready and present at the appointed place."

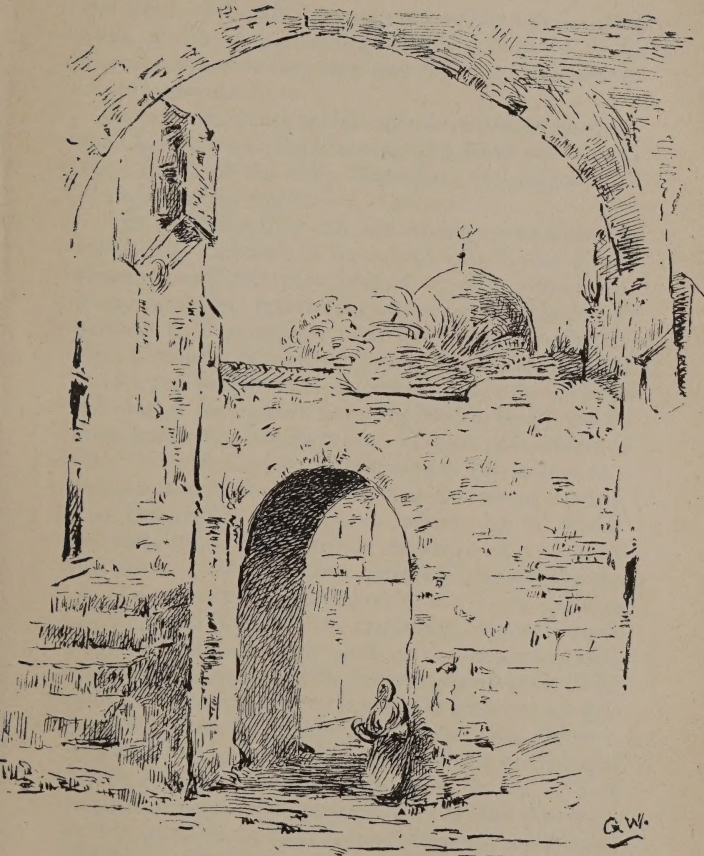
Of the Mosque of Aksa he says: "The main building is very large, and contains the maksurah, which is built against the south wall. The Aksa Mosque has two hundred and eighty marble columns, supporting arches that are fashioned of stone, and both the shafts and the capitals of the columns are sculptured. All joints are riveted with lead, so that nothing can be more firm. Between the columns measures six ells, and the Mosque is everywhere flagged with coloured marble, with the joints likewise riveted with lead. The maksurah is facing the centre of the south wall, and is of such a size as to contain sixteen columns. Above rises a mighty dome, that is surrounded with mosaic work, after the fashion to be seen in other parts of the Noble Sanctuary." The mighty dome is that which was erected a few years previously, to replace the one that had been destroyed by the earthquake of A.D. 1016.

Of the Dome of the Rock Nazir says: "There are four doors facing the four cardinal points, namely, east, west, north and south, and between each of these is one of the oblique sides of the octagon. The walls are everywhere constructed of squared stones, and are twenty cubits in height. The Rock itself measures a hundred ells round; it has no regular form, being neither square nor circular, but is shapeless, like a boulder from the mountains. Beyond the four sides of the Rock rise four piers of masonry, that equal in height the walls of the building, and, between every two piers, on the four sides, stand a pair of marble pillars, which are like to the height of the piers. Resting on these twelve piers and pillars is the structure of the dome, under which lies the Rock; and the circumference of the dome is one hundred and twenty cubits. Between the walls of the building and the circle of piers and pillars—and

by the term 'pier' I understand a support that is built up, and is square; while the term 'pillar' denotes a support that is cut from a single block of stone and is round—between this inner circle of supports, then, and the outer walls of the edifice, are built eight other piers of squared stones, and, between every two of them, are placed, equidistant, three columns in coloured marble. Thus, while in the inner circle between every two piers are two columns, there are here, between every two piers, three columns. On the capital of each pier are set four volutes, from each of which springs an arch; and, on the capital of each column are set two volutes; so that at every column is the spring of two arches, while, at every pier, is the spring of four."

There is one point in the above description regarding which it appears as if Nazir had made a mistake in copying his notes. There are at present, as in his time, four piers in the inner colonnade, and eight in the outer colonnade; but there are three pillars between each pier in the inner, and two pillars between each pier in the outer colonnade, whereas he says that he saw two in the inner, and three in the outer colonnade. These numbers would be difficult to arrange architecturally, as it would make the outer arches too steep, and the inner arches too flat.

Of the sanctity of Jerusalem Nazir wrote: "The Noble Sanctuary is the third of the Houses of God—be He exalted and glorified!—and the doctors of religion concur in saying that a single prayer offered up here, in this Holy City, has vouchsafed to it the effect of five and twenty thousand prayers said elsewhere; just as in Medina, the city of the Prophet—peace and benediction be upon him!—every single prayer may count for fifty thousand, while each that is said in Mecca, the venerable—God, be He exalted, ennoble



DOME OF THE ROCK FROM SIKKET DEIR EL ADAS

the city !—will pass for one hundred thousand. And God, be He exalted and glorified, give grace to all His servants, that they may one day acquit themselves of such prayers."

As there was peace at this time in Jerusalem between the Christians and the Mahomedans, Nazir also visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and writes of it in the following words—

" In the Holy City the Christians possess a church which they call Beit el Kumameh [the House of the Resurrection], and they hold it in great veneration. Every year great multitudes of people come hither to perform their visitations ; and the emperor of Byzantium himself comes hither, but privily, so that no one should recognize him. Hakem at one time ordered the church to be given over to plunder, which was so done, and it was laid in ruins. Some time it remained thus ; but, afterwards, the emperor of Byzantium sent ambassadors with presents and promises of service, and concluded a treaty, in which he stipulated for permission to defray the expenses of rebuilding the church, and this was ultimately accomplished. At the present day the church is a most spacious building, and is capable of containing eight thousand persons. The edifice is built, with the utmost skill, of coloured marbles, with ornamentation and sculptures. Inside, the church is everywhere adorned with Byzantine brocade, worked in gold with pictures. And they have portrayed Jesus—peace be upon Him ! —who at times is shown riding upon an ass. There are also pictures representing others of the Prophets, as, for instance, Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob with his sons—peace be upon them all ! "

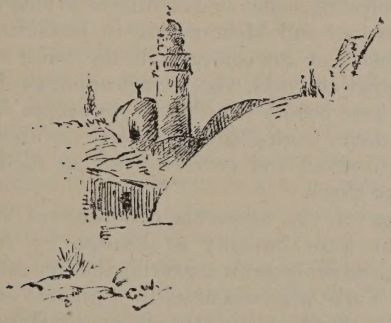
Of the hospices, which were provided from time to time by pious donors for the reception of Christian pilgrims and the curing of the sick, that of St. Mary

on Sion, founded by the Emperor Justinian, and that of St. Mary Latin, founded by the Emperor Charlemagne, have been already mentioned. There was another, established at the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, which afterwards became one of the most important in Jerusalem. This was the Hospital of St. John, which was founded by the merchants of Amalfi in Italy for the reception of pilgrims and care of the sick. It was dedicated at first to St. John, known as the Merciful, who was patriarch in Egypt when Chosroes destroyed the churches in Jerusalem in A.D. 614, and who had greatly assisted Modestus in their restoration, sending him a thousand workmen, a thousand beasts of burden, and a large supply of materials and provisions. The dedication of the Hospital was afterwards changed to the name of St. John the Baptist for some unknown reason, but possibly because the Latin monks did not approve of serving under the patronage of a Greek patriarch. The hospital was placed in the south part of the quarter known as the Muristan, and the original church connected with it still exists, as it forms the crypt of the Greek church of St. John the Baptist. This crypt is one of the oldest Christian churches in Jerusalem, and should be visited by every traveller. It is entered from an alley, which leads from the right-hand side of Christian Street.

Not many years after the restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem again became the scene of conflict, as, in A.D. 1077, it was taken and pillaged by the Seljuk Turks, under Atsiz, a general of Melik Shah, who transferred it from the rule of the Fatemite Khalif at Cairo to that of the Abbasides. The Turks were masters of the city until A.D. 1093, when they, in their turn, were turned out by the Egyptians, and

Jerusalem, for the last time, came under the dominion of the Fatemites.

During the period of Turkish rule, the Christians suffered much, and it is said that, on one occasion, three thousand of them were massacred; there is, however, no record of the churches having been damaged, and pilgrims continued to flock in great numbers to the Holy City, although the difficulties and dangers of making the pilgrimage had greatly increased, and many were killed on their way to Jerusalem. Among these pilgrims was a certain Peter, a hermit of Picardy, who, on his return to Europe, succeeded in exciting the feelings of Christians in Europe to such an extent, that many were prepared to take part in an expedition to the East, an expedition known as the First Crusade, which led to the emancipation of Palestine from its Mahomedan rulers, and to the establishment of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem.



CHAPTER VI

THE CHRISTIAN KINGDOM

With the exception of the period of persecution by the Khalif Hakem, the Christians of Jerusalem had been well treated by their Mahomedan masters from the capture of the city in A.D. 637 by Omar, until the Turkish invasion of Palestine in A.D. 1077. The churches were respected, and there seems to have been a good deal of truth in the remark by Mukaddasi, who, writing about A.D. 985, said, "Everywhere the Christians and the Jews have the upper hand." And this good feeling, which had continued so long between the Christians and Mahomedans in Jerusalem, made the former feel the contrast all the more strongly, when the Seljuk Turks, who, though nominally Moslem, seem to have been a semi-barbarous people, began to oppress them, seizing their property, insulting them in the churches, and generally making their lives a burden to them.

Tidings of the miserable condition of affairs in Jerusalem were brought to Europe by returning pilgrims, and projects for capturing the city and driving out the Turks were discussed in a general way; but it was the efforts of one man, Peter the Hermit, who was able to bring the idea to a practical result, and to raise the standard for the liberation of Jerusalem. Peter himself made the pilgrimage in A.D. 1093, when matters were at their worst, and saw with indignation

the manner in which the Christians were treated by the Turks. He visited the patriarch Simeon, who related all the indignities that they had to endure, and said that their only hope was that God would send the Christians of the West to the help of the Holy City. Leaving Jerusalem, he proceeded to Rome, and laid his proposals before the pope, Urban II, who received him well, and authorized him to preach the Crusade, when he travelled through Italy and France, preaching in every town and village by which he passed, and calling upon all people, high and low, to take the Cross, and go without delay to the assistance of their poor brethren in Jerusalem.

Meantime, while Peter was engaged upon his missionary tour, letters reached the pope from Alexius Comnenus, the Greek emperor, informing him that the Turks were advancing through Asia Minor upon Constantinople, and urging him to use his influence with the sovereigns of Western Europe to come to the assistance of the empire. The pope summoned Councils, first at Piacenza, and then at Clermont, where the letters of the emperor and of the patriarch Simeon were read, while Peter spoke with his usual eloquence, giving an account of all that he had seen in the Holy City. The proposals for a Crusade were received with general consent, and the pope promised plenary remission of their sins to all who joined in the expedition. To him the project was specially satisfactory, as he hoped that it would lead to the coalition of the Greek and Latin churches under the supremacy of Rome, and, after the Councils had separated, he travelled to Tours, Nîmes, and other places, preaching the Crusade.

The winter of 1095 was given up to preparation for the great expedition, and, by the following summer, a body of 200,000 men were assembled on the banks

of the Meuse; but it could not be called an army, as it was composed, not of soldiers, but of undisciplined peasants, artisans, and even robbers, who hoped to make their peace with God by taking the Cross. Among the great host there were only nine knights, and the leader was not a prince or nobleman, trained to war, but Peter the Hermit himself.

These first Crusaders started in two bodies, one, under a certain knight named Walter, which marched through Germany and Hungary; and the second, under Peter, which took the road through Lorraine, Bavaria, Austria and Hungary. As far as the Danube, the advance was made with fair success, but the Bulgarians would have nothing to do with them; from Belgrade, onward, they had to fight their way to Constantinople, and, when they reached the Bosphorus, half their number had disappeared. Then the emperor recommended Peter to wait until the more disciplined Crusaders should arrive, but he would not listen to this good advice, crossed into Asia with about a hundred thousand men, and fought with the Turks near Nicæa. Here he was totally defeated, and, of his large army, only about three thousand escaped.

But when Peter succeeded in getting back to Constantinople after this disaster, he found fresh armies of Crusaders arriving, of a very different character, composed of disciplined soldiers under noble and experienced leaders, whose names were known throughout Europe. Among the latter were Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, and his brothers Baldwin and Eustace; Robert, Duke of Normandy, eldest son of William the Conqueror; Hugh, Count of Valois, brother of Philip I, King of France; Robert, Count of Flanders; Stephen, Count of Blois, son-in-law to William the Conqueror;

Raymond, Count of Toulouse; Bohemond the Norman, whose father, Robert Guiscard, had taken Sicily from the Greeks; Tancred, cousin of Bohemond, and many other nobles and knights of the highest distinction. Each leader brought a large contingent, and it is said that, by the end of 1096, over six hundred thousand Crusaders had reached Constantinople. Of these the greater part were French; the Germans were far fewer; while England was only represented by a small body under Edgar Atheling, the last representative of the Saxon line of kings, which was attached to the army of Robert of Normandy.

This is not the place to write the history of the Crusades; suffice it to say that, after much fighting, and surmounting many difficulties in the march from Constantinople across Asia Minor, the invading army passed over the Taurus mountains, and entered Northern Syria in the late autumn of 1097. Their numbers had greatly diminished; many had been killed by the enemy; many had died of disease; probably more than half of the great army, which had started from Constantinople, had left their bones on the mountains and plains of Asia Minor. Antioch was taken after a long siege in June 1098, and at last, in the winter of that year, preparations were made for the advance upon Jerusalem, the real object of the expedition.

The army marched in two divisions, part following the valley of the Orontes, and part the road by the sea, passing Latakia. The two divisions met at Tripoli, and then the whole force took the coast road by Beirut, Tyre, and Haifa, to Jaffa and Ramleh. No attempt was made to arrest their progress, although all the coast towns were held by the enemy, and, on the other hand, the Crusaders passed the towns without attacking them, and marched steadily on to the goal.

Meanwhile, during the slow progress of the Crusaders, the state of affairs in Jerusalem had greatly changed, as the Fatemite Khalif El Mustanzir had driven the Turks out of Palestine, and had placed Egyptian garrisons in Jerusalem and the other towns; so that, really, the object for which the Crusade had originally been started by Peter the Hermit, namely to drive the Turks out of Jerusalem, had been obtained without any assistance from the Christians of Europe. So little did El Mustali, the successor of El Mustanzir, understand the feelings of the Crusaders, however, that he was greatly pleased at hearing of their victories over the Turks, who were also his enemies, and sent embassies to the leaders to inform them that the privileges of the Christians would be restored, and that the visits of pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre would be welcomed. But this solution of the matter did not suit the Crusaders, who had come a long distance, and incurred great hardships to take possession of the Holy City for themselves, and to drive out the followers of the Prophet, whether Turks, Egyptians, or any others, and they replied that the only way to avoid attack was to surrender the city at once. The Egyptian governor, naturally, refused to agree to this.

In May 1099, the Crusaders reached Ramleh, and there they were met by a party of Christians from Bethlehem, who came to ask protection for their town. Tancred decided to take the opportunity to make a reconnaissance of Jerusalem, and, with one hundred knights, rode first to Bethlehem, and then to the city, where he ascended the Mount of Olives, and was thus the first of the Christian leaders to see that Jerusalem of which he had heard so much. Having completed his examination of the position, he returned to the army to tell them that the Holy City was nigh at hand. Greatly inspirited, the

Crusaders hurried on, and, when they came within sight of the walls, as the chronicler tells us, "When they heard it was Jerusalem, the Christians could not prevent themselves, in the fervour of their devotion, from shedding tears; they fell on their faces to the ground, glorifying and adoring God Who, in His goodness, had heard the prayers of His people, and had granted them, according to their desires, to arrive at this most sacred place, the object of all their hopes." [1]

Then preparations were made for the capture of the city, and it was decided, as in all previous sieges, to make the attack from the north, the deep valleys on the west, south and east presenting difficulties too great to be easily overcome; and the Crusading army, consisting in all of about twenty thousand fighting men, was distributed as follows. On the extreme left, and opposite the north-east corner of the walls, was the camp of Godfrey of Bouillon, the commander-in-chief; next to him were the troops of Count Robert of Flanders; then came Duke Robert of Normandy, with whom was the young prince Edgar Atheling, and Tancred pitched his camp where the Russian buildings now stand, in front of the north-west angle of the fortifications. As it was the month of June and warm weather, it was difficult to keep up a supply of water for the different camps, and the sufferings of the soldiers from thirst were very great.

Inside the town was a large Egyptian garrison, who, in order to husband their resources, drove out many of the Christian inhabitants, thus adding to the difficulties of the Crusaders, already badly provided with supplies for themselves. As the attack had long been expected, great preparations had been made to meet it by strengthening the walls, deepening the

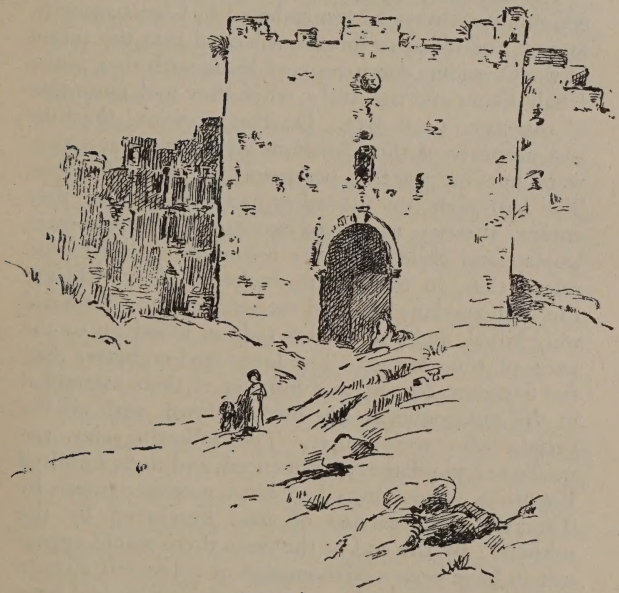
[1] See *Jerusalem*, by W. Besant and E. H. Palmer.

ditches, constructing outworks, and gathering in provisions from the country before the arrival of the Christians. The latter knew that there was a formidable force within the walls, but the soldiers were so eager to capture the city without any delay, that they persuaded their chiefs to allow them to make an assault, without waiting for the construction of siege works, or the preparation of engines to batter the fortifications. There was only one ladder available, and, with this, some of Tancred's men tried to scale the wall, but the attempt was a failure, as the garrison was on the alert, and it became evident that it would not be possible to capture Jerusalem without a regular siege.

Then another difficulty presented itself: there was no timber to be found in the vicinity of the city, and such trees as could be collected from a distance were small, and unsuitable for the construction of towers. Fortunately, however, when matters were at the worst, a Genoese fleet arrived at Jaffa, bringing stores. The timber was brought up from Jaffa as rapidly as possible, and three towers were prepared for the attack on the north wall, each built in three storeys, the uppermost of which was provided with a movable gangway, which could be let down upon the parapet. One of these towers was built by Godfrey of Bouillon, one by Tancred, and the third by the Count of Toulouse.

On July 12, the Festival of the Visitation, a solemn procession was made to the Mount of Olives, where Arnold, chaplain to the Duke of Normandy, and Peter the Hermit preached to the army, and made the Crusaders renew their oath of fidelity to the Cross. The following day was devoted to final preparations, and at dawn on the 14th the assault was delivered, but it proved a failure, as the tower of Raymond was

destroyed by the besieged, and those of Godfrey and Tancred were so much damaged that they could not be moved forward to the wall. But Godfrey refused to be beaten, and, working all night at his tower, he re-erected it close to the wall by the side



HEROD'S GATE

of the gate, now known as Herod's Gate. All was ready by the following day, and, at 3 p.m. on Friday, July 15, 1099, the gangway was dropped from the tower on to the top of the wall, and Godfrey himself, first of the Crusaders, passed over, and, according to the custom of the day, claimed the city as his own.

Then the advanced party opened the gate to their comrades and drove the defenders from the walls; this was followed by the opening of the other gates, and, in a short time, the city was completely in the hands of the Crusaders.

The capture of Jerusalem was followed by a scene which must always be remembered by Christians with sorrow, and it has to be acknowledged that the action of the Crusaders compares very badly with that of the Khalif Omar and the Arabs, when they took possession of the city in A.D. 637. On that occasion, the lives and property of the Christians were spared and they were left in peaceful possession of their churches. The Crusaders, on the other hand, as soon as they entered the city, massacred every one they met—man, woman and child—and the historians of the period relate that, in the Haram enclosure alone, whither the Mahomedans had fled for refuge, many thousand were killed, and the knights rode in blood up to the knees of their horses. The Jews fared no better than the Saracens, for, when a number of them assembled in the synagogue, it was burned down, with all the people who were in it. The following day the massacre and pillage recommenced, and three hundred Egyptians, whose lives had been promised them by Tancred, were carried off and butchered by the soldiers. By the end of the week there would appear not to have been a Mahomedan or a Jew left alive in Jerusalem, as the only survivors, whose lives had been spared by Raymond, were sent by him to the Egyptian city of Ascalon. Then, their task having been accomplished, a service of thanksgiving was held in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the wood of the Cross was exhibited to the Crusaders.

The city having thus been cleared, the army settled down. It may be presumed that some, at all events, of

the Christians who had been expelled by the Egyptians from the city before the siege, returned to their homes, but it is curious how little they are referred to by the early writers, who seem only to have thought of the European invaders. The priests claimed their share of the plunder, and demanded all the treasure that had been taken in the Haram, but it is not quite clear whether they got it, as it had been divided between Godfrey and Tancred, who had certainly a better claim.

As soon as the capture was completed, the Christian leaders held a council for the election of a ruler of Jerusalem, and the choice lay between Godfrey of Bouillon, the real conqueror of the city, Robert of Normandy, Raymond of Toulouse, and Tancred, each of whom was supported by his own followers. After long deliberation, the electors declared in favour of Godfrey, and the choice was at once ratified by the people, who conducted him in solemn procession to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where he took the oath to be a just ruler and to maintain the laws.

The next step was the election of a patriarch in succession to the Patriarch Simeon, who had suffered so much from the Turks, and had died in Cyprus; and the choice fell upon Dagobert, Archbishop of Pisa, and Papal Legate in Palestine. The Greek priests were put on one side by the Roman, and only held a secondary place, so long as the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem lasted; but the relations between the priests of the two rival churches appear to have been fairly amicable, although the Greeks must have felt their position of inferiority in what had always been their own city.

While the Crusaders had thus been establishing themselves in Jerusalem, the Fatemite Khalif El Mustali, furious at the loss of the city, had assembled

a large army, and sent it from Egypt across the desert to Gaza, under the command of an Armenian named Afdhal, with the intention of driving the Christians out of Palestine. Godfrey, hearing of their advance, mustered every man available, and leaving only the women and children in Jerusalem in charge of Peter the Hermit, marched first to Ramleh, and then turned south, to meet the Egyptians coming north from Gaza. The two armies met at a place, not far from Ascalon, and, after a desperate battle, the Crusaders gained a complete victory, killing large numbers of the Egyptians, while the survivors fled for shelter to the walls of Ascalon, or got on board a fleet which had come from Alexandria with supplies. Godfrey at first intended to take Ascalon, but it proved too strong, and he returned to Jerusalem.

The great work of capturing Jerusalem and taking possession of the Holy Sepulchre having thus been accomplished, most of the Christians leaders departed, leaving Godfrey, with a comparatively small force, to defend Jerusalem and consolidate the kingdom. The future history of the other leaders was as follows: Robert, Count of Flanders, returned to France, and was drowned in the Marne; Raymond, Count of Toulouse, went to Constantinople, and was given the principality of Laodicea by the Greek emperor, but he subsequently returned to Palestine, and was killed when besieging Tripoli; Tancred died at Antioch in 1112; and Robert, Duke of Normandy, gave up the Crusade and returned home. Two of the principal Crusading chiefs who had not accompanied Godfrey to Jerusalem were Bohemond, who made himself Prince of Antioch; and Baldwin, brother of Godfrey, Count of Edessa, a city east of the Euphrates. They both, however, came to Jerusalem at Christmas, 1099, and with them a body of twenty thousand

Crusaders, men who had been fighting in North Syria and had not taken part in the capture of the Holy City. With them came also the newly elected patriarch, Dagobert, who began at once to assert the claims of the Roman church, and to uphold the opinion that Godfrey was a vassal of the pope, and not an independent sovereign.

For the next few months Godfrey had a busy time, making arrangements for the organization of the kingdom, and signing treaties with the governors of the cities which still remained in the hands of the Mahomedans, including Ascalon, Cæsarea, Acre, Damascus and Aleppo. While travelling on the coast he was taken ill at Jaffa, and died after a short illness in July 1100; a great misfortune for Jerusalem, as he was the best and the wisest of all the Crusading leaders. He was buried in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where the tomb remained until A.D. 1808, when it was destroyed by the great fire; on it was written this simple epitaph: "Hic jacet inclitus dux Godefridus de Bouillon, qui totam istam terram acquisivit cultui Christiano, cujus anima regnet cum Christo." Over the tomb was hung his sword, that sword which had led the Crusaders in so many battles, and had shown the way across the walls into Jerusalem. A sword is still shown in the sacristy next to the Chapel of the Apparition, which is said to be the sword of Godfrey, but its authenticity is doubtful.

There is a mass of information available regarding Jerusalem during the Christian occupation, in the chronicles of the Crusades, the Arab historians, and in the accounts drawn up by Christian pilgrims. Much of this is at the disposal of English readers in the publications of the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts Society, which has published translations of many of these documents. Of these there are two which are

specially interesting, as they were written shortly after the capture of Jerusalem, and before any changes had been made in the churches and Mahomedan buildings, changes which considerably altered their character. One of these narratives is by a certain Sæwulf, who made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the winter of 1104, and the other is by the Russian Abbot Daniel, who went to Palestine in 1106.

Sæwulf embarked at Monopoli near Brindisi in Southern Italy, and, after a voyage of thirteen weeks, during which he touched at many places, reached Jaffa "with great gladness and giving of thanks." The disembarkation at Jaffa was just as unpleasant then as at the present day, and Sæwulf, fortunately for himself, was advised to go ashore at once, for a heavy gale rose in the night, and the following day, out of thirty ships which lay at anchor off the port, twenty-seven broke loose from their moorings and were wrecked, and more than a thousand people were drowned. Hastening to the shore, he says he saw "the storm running mountains high, and beheld the bodies of men and women without number, drowned, and miserably lying on the beach. We saw also ships dashed against each other and broken into small pieces. A greater misery on one day no eye ever saw. But from all these dangers our Lord delivered me by His grace."

Sæwulf's dangers were, however, not at an end, for, although Jaffa and Jerusalem were in the hands of the Christians, Ascalon, a few miles to the south, was occupied by an Egyptian garrison, and the Arabs of the country were quite unsubdued, so that the road to the Holy City was in a rather more dangerous condition than before the arrival of the Crusaders. He describes the journey in the following words: "We went up from Joppa to the city of Jerusalem, a

journey of two days, along a mountainous road, rocky, and very dangerous. For the Saracens, always laying snares for the Christians, lie hidden in the hollow places of the mountains, and the caves of the rocks, watching day and night, and always on the look out for those whom they can attack on account of the fewness of the party, or those who have lagged behind their party through weariness. At one moment they are seen all around everywhere, and all at once they disappear entirely. Any one who makes that journey may see this. Oh! what a number of human bodies, both in the road and by the side of it, lie all torn by wild beasts! Some may perhaps wonder that the bodies of Christians should lie there unburied. But it is not to be wondered at at all; for there is very little earth, and the rocks do not easily lend themselves to be dug into. And besides, if there was earth, who would be so foolish as to leave his party, and, as it were alone, dig a grave for his companion? If he did so, he would be making ready a grave for himself rather than for his companion. On that road not only the poor and the weak, but even the rich and strong, are in danger. Many are cut off by the Saracens, but more by heat and thirst: many through scarcity of drink, but many more perish from drinking too much. We, however, with our whole party, arrived unhurt at our longed-for destination. Blessed be the Lord, who has not cast out my prayer, nor turned away his mercy from me. Amen."

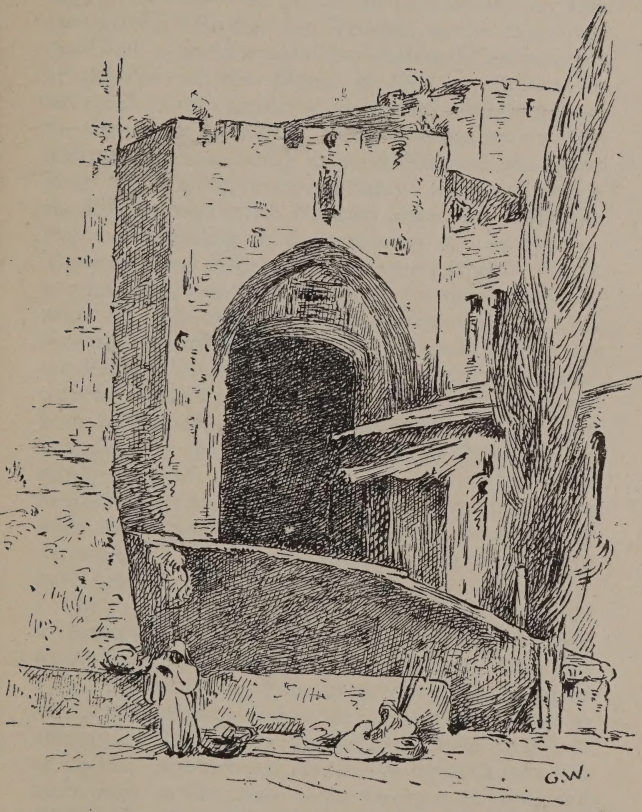
Sæwulf entered Jerusalem by the Jaffa Gate, and remained some time in the city, where he found the churches just as they had been since the restoration in 1037, after the destruction carried out by order of the Khalif Hakem. The Holy Sepulchre was covered by a dome, but eastward of it was an open court, extending as far as the chapel of St. Helena. To the

north of the Tomb was a chapel called the chapel of Holy Mary; and on the south there were three chapels in a line, known as the chapel of St. John, the chapel of the Holy Trinity and the chapel of St. James. These four chapels still exist, but they have been considerably altered since the time of Sæwulf. The court in front of the Holy Sepulchre had cloisters on the east and north sides, and the pillars of the latter can still be seen, combined in a rather confused way with the pillars of the north aisle of the church, afterwards built by the Crusaders in the courtyard. Sæwulf saw Mount Calvary on the south side of the court, and, between Calvary and the Tomb, was a small chapel, dedicated to the Virgin, in the floor of which was the Stone of the Anointing. This chapel was removed when the Crusading church was built, but the Stone of the Anointing is still shown, probably in the same place, but the present stone is modern.

South of the buildings connected with the Holy Sepulchre, Sæwulf visited the church of St. Mary Latin, founded by Charlemagne, the church of St. Mary, on the site now occupied by the new German Lutheran church, and "the hospital where is the celebrated monastery dedicated to St. John the Baptist."

The Haram enclosure was, of course, open to Christian pilgrims, and there Sæwulf saw the Dome of the Rock, known as the Temple of the Lord, and the Mosque of Aksa, called the Temple of Solomon: these buildings had not yet been handed over to the Knights Templar, and no use seems to have been made of them. Possibly the Christians were, at first, a little doubtful about using buildings which had been dedicated to the worship of Islam.

North of the Haram enclosure, Sæwulf visited the



THE JAFFA GATE

church of St. Anne, with the Pool of Bethesda adjoining it, and then went out at the gate of the city and crossed the Valley of the Kedron, to the church of the Tomb of St. Mary, and the Garden of Gethsemane, at the foot of the Mount of Olives. Thence he ascended to the summit of the mount, and found, on the site of the Ascension, "a small tower, honourably laid out, an altar being made within over the spot. Near there, about a stone's-throw, our Lord wrote the Lord's Prayer with His own fingers on marble in Hebrew, according to the testimony of the Syrians. There also was built a very beautiful church, but it was afterwards entirely destroyed by the Pagans; as were all the churches outside the walls." This beautiful church was, of course, the basilica built by the Empress Heleña in the fourth century, and distroyed by the Persians in A.D. 614. As has already been mentioned, the foundations of this basilica have recently been discovered by the White Fathers of St Anne. Sæwulf also visited the church of Sion, and mentions that the church of St. Stephen outside the walls on the north side of the city had been entirely destroyed by the Pagans, and no attempt seems to have been made to rebuild it.

The description of Jerusalem and its churches given by Sæwulf is entirely confirmed by the Abbot Daniel, who visited Jerusalem four years later, and who also found the road from Jaffa dangerous; the Christian authorities seemed quite incapable of policing it efficiently. Daniel, leaving Jaffa, made his first halt at Lydda, of which he says: "A large church was built there to the name of St. George; it contained within the altar the tomb of the saint, who was martyred there. There are plenty of springs at this place, near to which pilgrims come to rest for the night in great fear, for the place is deserted, and not

far from the town of Ascalon, whence the Saracens issue and massacre the pilgrims on their way. There is also much to be feared from this place to the point at which one enters the mountains. Thence the way is across rocky mountains, and is a very frightful and troublesome one."

BEDUIN CAMP

Daniel gives a fuller description of the Dome of the Rock than Sæwulf, and says of it: "The Church of the Holy of Holies is about two bow-shots from the Church of the Resurrection of Christ. The interior of the Holy of Holies is wonderfully and artistically decorated with mosaics, and its beauty is indescribable. It is round in form, and the exterior is covered with magnificent paintings, of the beauty of which one

cannot give any conception. The walls, as well as the floor, are faced with beautiful slabs of precious marble. Under the roof there is a circle of twelve monolithic columns, and eight piers. The interior of the dome is decorated with marvellously beautiful designs in mosaic, and the outside is covered with gilded copper. Beneath this same dome there is a grotto cut in the rock. The ancient Church of the Holy of Holies has been destroyed. Nothing is left of the ancient building of Solomon except the original foundations of the Temple, which the Prophet David began to lay. The cavern and the rock beneath the cupola are the sole remains of the ancient buildings; as for the present church, it was built by a chief of the Saracens, named Omar."

The premature death of Godfrey of Bouillon led to a dispute as to who was to be his successor, and the Patriarch Dagobert, who wished to settle everybody's affairs, wrote to Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, inviting him to be King of Jerusalem. But Bohemond was then in Armenia, and Baldwin, who had certainly a better claim to the throne, as soon as he heard of the death of his brother, handed over his principality of Edessa to his cousin, Baldwin du Bourg, and started at once for the Holy City. There he arrived after a dangerous journey, as the Saracens tried to intercept him, and was well received by all the people except the Patriarch Dagobert, who retired to the monastery of Mount Sion, as he probably feared that Baldwin would be angry with him for having offered the crown to Bohemond. A reconciliation was, however, effected, and Baldwin was crowned by Dagobert at Bethlehem. But, some time afterwards, the contest was reopened, and was finally ended by the deposition of Dagobert, who was succeeded by Arnold, formerly chaplain to Duke Robert of Normandy, a priest who had coveted

the position of patriarch since the capture of the city, and appears to have intrigued against Dagobert in order to get rid of him.

King Baldwin, during his reign of eighteen years, was constantly engaged in war with the Egyptians, from whom he succeeded in capturing the coast towns of Palestine, with the exception of Tyre and Ascalon, and the garrison of the latter ceased not to molest the pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. But, notwithstanding this, travellers continued to come and go, and the city increased in prosperity. Baldwin also extended his dominions beyond the Jordan, and built the strong castle of Montreal at Shobek in the land of Moab. In 1118 he started upon an invasion of Egypt, marching by the coast road by El Arish, and had nearly reached Pelusium when he was taken seriously ill, and, on the advice of his knights, ordered a retreat, but died before reaching Jerusalem. His body was embalmed and carried back to be buried beside his brother Godfrey in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

On the death of Baldwin, there was some difficulty with regard to choosing a successor, as his brother Eustace was in France, and it was important that Jerusalem should have a ruler at once. Fortunately Baldwin du Bourg, Count of Edessa, the cousin of the late king, arrived in Jerusalem on the day of the funeral, and, when the council were in doubt as to what it was best to do, Count Jocelyn de Courtenay said, "We have here the Count of Edessa, a just man, and one who fears God, the cousin of the late king, valiant in battle, and worthy of praise on all points; no country could furnish us a better king; it were better to choose him at once than wait for chances full of peril."

The council agreed unanimously, and Baldwin du

Bourg was chosen as king, whereupon he appointed Jocelyn, who was a first cousin of his own, to succeed him as Count of Edessa. Eustace, when he heard of the death of his brother, started at once for Jerusalem, but learning, while on the journey, of the appointment of Baldwin du Bourg, made no attempt to disturb the arrangement and returned to France. It was another instance of the common sense which seemed a characteristic of the family of Bouillon.

Early in the reign of King Baldwin II there was founded the Order of the Temple, which was originally composed of a body of nine knights of noble birth, who dedicated themselves to the duty of protecting pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem, a service that, as has already been explained, was very much required, on account of the dangerous state of the roads leading to the Holy City. To these knights the king allotted the Mosque of Aksa as a place of residence, and the Dome of the Rock, then called the Temple of the Lord, as a church; and, for this reason, the body of knights took the name of the Order of the Temple, or Templars. They were also given the vaults at the south-east corner of the Haram, now called the Stables of Solomon, as a place to keep their horses.

The chief of the Order was given the title of Grand Master, and, as a mark of distinction, and so that they might be recognized when engaged upon their duty, the knights were permitted to wear a white mantle with a red cross embroidered on it. As the Order was very popular, it increased rapidly in numbers and importance, so that, in process of time, it became one of the most powerful bodies in Palestine, and became possessed of much property throughout the country. Writing of the Order fifty years after its foundation, William of Tyre relates that there were then three hundred knights, and an infinite number

of serving brothers, and he says that they had forgotten the duty of humility, had withdrawn themselves from the authority of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and had made themselves obnoxious to the Church by depriving it of its tithes.

The Templars made many alterations in the Haram buildings. An oratory and altar was built on the Sacred Rock, and a large golden cross was placed over the Dome, while texts from the Bible, and other Christian inscriptions, worked in mosaic, were placed on the walls and arches. It is rather remarkable that the great inscription in Kufic, describing the erection of the Dome by Abd el Melik (*see* p. 149), was not removed, but it may have been covered up by the Christian inscriptions, and thus preserved.

The Mosque of Aksa was completely transformed, and many additions were made to it. Theodorich, who visited Jerusalem in 1172, describes it in the following words: "Next comes, on the south, the Palace of Solomon, which is oblong, and supported by columns within, like a church, and, at the end, is round like a sanctuary, and covered by a great round dome, so that, as I have said, it resembles a church. This building, with all its appurtenances, has passed into the hands of the Knights Templar, who dwell in it and in the other buildings connected with it, having many magazines of arms, clothing and food in it, and are ever on the watch to guard and protect the country. They have below stables for horses, built by King Solomon himself in the days of old, adjoining the palace, a wondrous and intricate building resting on piers, and containing an endless complication of arches and vaults, which stable, we declare according to our reckoning, could take in ten thousand horses with their grooms. No man could send an arrow from one end of their building to the other, either

lengthways or crossways, at one shot with a Balearic bow. Above, the palace abounds with rooms, solar chambers and buildings suitable for all manner of uses. Those who walk upon the roof of it find an abundance of gardens, courtyards, antechambers, vestibules and rain-water cisterns; while, down below, it contains a wonderful number of baths, storehouses, granaries and magazines for the storage of wood and other needful provisions. On another side of the palace, that is to say on the western side, the Templars have erected a new building. I could give the measurements of its height, length and breadth, of its cellars, refectories, staircases, and roof, rising with a high pitch, unlike the flat roofs of that country; but even if I did so, my hearers would hardly be able to believe me. They have built a new cloister there in addition to the old one which they had in another part of the building. Moreover, they are laying the foundations of a new church of wonderful size and workmanship in this place, by the side of the great court. It is not easy for any one to gain an idea of the power and wealth of the Templars; for they and the Hospitallers have taken possession of almost all the cities and villages with which Judæa was once enriched, which were destroyed by the Romans, and have built castles everywhere, and filled them with garrisons, besides the very many, and, indeed, numberless estates, which they are well known to possess in other lands."

The new church here referred to, which was on the east side of the Mosque of Aksa, was not finished when Saladin captured the city, and only the foundations remain, as he pulled it down, as well as many of the other additions made by the Templars, as he endeavoured to restore the Mosque to the condition in which it was, before the Christian occupation of Jerusalem. It is easy to understand, having regard to

the many changes which have been made in the Mosque of Aksa since its original foundation in A.D. 691, that its architectural history presents considerable difficulties, and that there are a number of different theories with regard to it. Of these theories one of the least probable is, that it was an adaptation of the great Church of St. Mary, built by the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century.

The second Order of Chivalry, established by King Baldwin II, was the Order of the Hospital, which was based on the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, an institution founded, as has already been mentioned, about a century before Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders. The objects for which this hospital had originally been provided by pious benefactors were the provision of accommodation for the sick, and for the reception of Christian pilgrims who came to visit the Holy Places; but, under Baldwin, it became a military Order also, its chief was given the title of Grand Master, and the knights who belonged to it were allowed to wear a black mantle, with a white eight-pointed cross embroidered upon it, that cross which is now so generally known in connection with the ambulance work of the British branch of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. The eight points of the cross were intended to symbolize the tenets and objects of the Order, and signified repentance, faith, charity, justice, humility, mercy, sincerity and patience. In war, the knights wore a tunic having the arms of the Order on the breast, a red cross on a white field.

The Order of the Hospital of St. John, or, as they were commonly called, the Knights Hospitaller, had already their buildings in the Muristan, south of the Holy Sepulchre, but these were enlarged when the scope of the Order was extended. John of Wurzburg gives the following account of the Hospital as he saw

it in 1170: "Over against the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, on the opposite side of the way, is a beautiful church, built in honour of John the Baptist, annexed to which is a hospital, wherein in various rooms is collected together an enormous multitude of sick people, both men and women, who are tended and restored to health daily at a very great expense. When I was there I learned that the whole number of these sick persons amounted to two thousand, of whom sometimes, in the course of one day and night, more than fifty are carried out dead, while many other fresh ones keep continually arriving. What more can I say? This same house supplies as many people outside it with victuals as it does those inside, in addition to the boundless charity which is daily bestowed upon poor people, who beg their bread from door to door, and do not lodge in the house, so that the whole sum total of its expenses can surely never be calculated, even by the managers and stewards thereof. In addition to all these moneys expended upon the sick and other poor people, this same house also maintains, in its various castles, many persons trained to all kinds of military exercises, for the defence of the land of the Christians against the invasions of the Saracens."

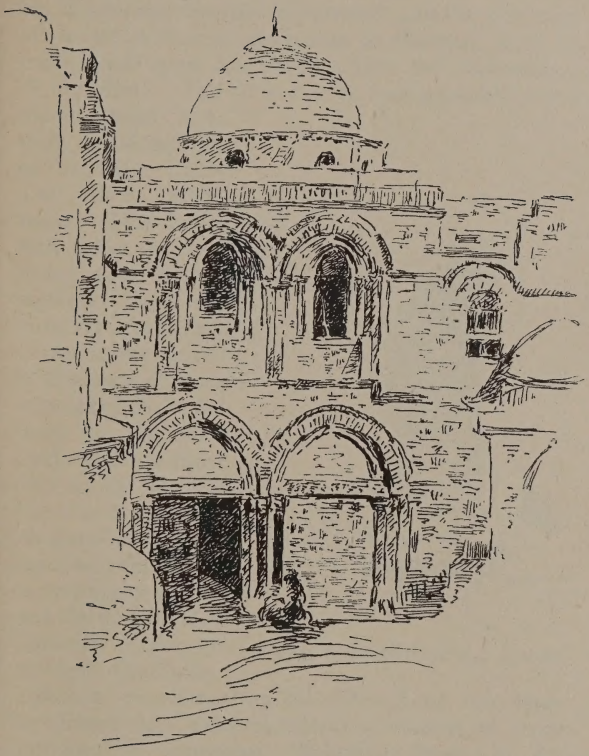
The site of the Hospital of St. John has already been described (*see* p. 166), and also the church, which still remains as a relic of the good work carried on by the knights. It is satisfactory to know that similar charities are still maintained in Jerusalem, and that a hospital, specially devoted to the treatment of ophthalmia, that curse of Eastern countries, has been established by the British branch of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. This Ophthalmic Hospital is in a healthy situation outside the town, near the railway station.

A few years later, a third Order was founded in

Jerusalem with the name of the Order of St. Mary of the Germans, or Teutonic Order, which maintained a hospice for German-speaking pilgrims, and a hospital for the sick. This hospital was in the quarter of the city now known as the Jewish quarter, but its exact site is not known; it may be marked by some remains of a mediæval building found by Colonel Conder on the scarp facing the Haram enclosure. The Teutonic Order did not remain in Palestine until the end of the Christian occupation, but returned to Germany to conquer and convert the heathen tribes of East Prussia, where they built the well-known castle of Marienburg, not far from Danzig.

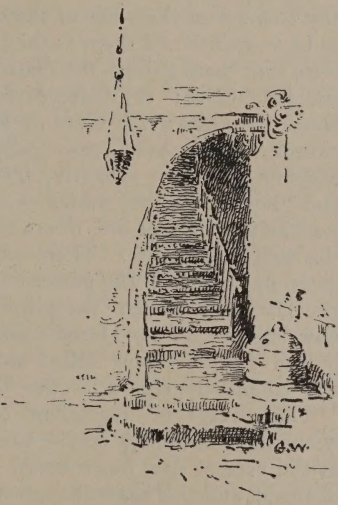
One of the great changes commenced in Jerusalem during the reign of King Baldwin II was the foundation of the new Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which was designed to gather together in one body the different Holy Places and chapels, that had up to that time stood in and around the central open court which separated the Holy Sepulchre from the chapel of St. Helena. The new church, originally called the Choir of the Canons, formed, as it were, the choir and transepts for the original building on the west, in which was the Tomb itself. The Crusading church remains, in general plan, the same as when erected from the designs of the French architect Jourdain in the twelfth century, but in some of the details it was materially altered after the great fire of 1808. For example, originally the choir was separated from the ambulatory by pillars, and these have been replaced by walls which obscure the view, and make the ambulatory very dark.

Several important changes had to be made in the existing buildings when the choir was built by Jourdain. The chapel of St. Mary, which enclosed the Stone of the Anointing, was removed, as it stood



CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

in the way of the new entrance and south transept. The chapel of Calvary was rebuilt. The chapel of St. Helena was considerably altered, and the direction of the stairs leading down into it changed, so as to make them open conveniently into the ambulatory of the choir. The new church was probably completed about 1150, and the campanile or square belfry was added afterwards. This belfry had, when built, a storey more than at present. There was formerly a west entrance to the church in Christian Street, from which steps led down to the floor level, which is more than thirty feet below the street; this has been blocked up, but the remains of the porch can be seen near the north end of Christian Street, on the right-hand side.



IN THE CONVENT OF ST. JAMES

Besides reconstructing the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Crusaders rebuilt a number of other churches in Jerusalem, including those of St. Anne, formerly called St. Mary, near the Pool of Bethesda, St. Mary Latin, St. Mary the Less, St. Mary by Gethsemane, and of the Ascension. The great basilica of St. Stephen outside the Damascus Gate was not restored, but, to commemorate the

site, a small church was built to the westward of the ruins of the old one. The Armenians rebuilt the church of St. James on Sion, which is still the church of the great Armenian Convent, and many monasteries and other religious houses were established.

There is no mention of the Crusaders having made any changes in the walls of the city, and they appear to have maintained them as they found them. There were four main gates; the Gate of David, now called the Jaffa Gate; the Gate of St. Stephen, now the Damascus Gate; the Gate of Jehoshaphat, near the church of St. Anne, now called the Gate of St. Stephen, or more properly, the Gate of St. Mary; and the Sion Gate, which was not in its present position, but about one hundred yards farther along the wall to the east. There were also three smaller gates, or posterns; the postern of St. Lazarus, west of the Damascus Gate; the postern of the Magdalen, now represented by Herod's Gate; and the postern of the Tannery, now called the Bab el Magharibe, but commonly known as the Dung Gate.

The streets of Jerusalem during the Christian occupation ran much on the same lines as the streets at the present day, but some of the names have been changed, and this has to be remembered when reading the old descriptions. In a French work called *The City of Jerusalem* there is an interesting account of some of the streets, giving a good idea of what the town was like in the days of the Crusaders, which begins as follows—

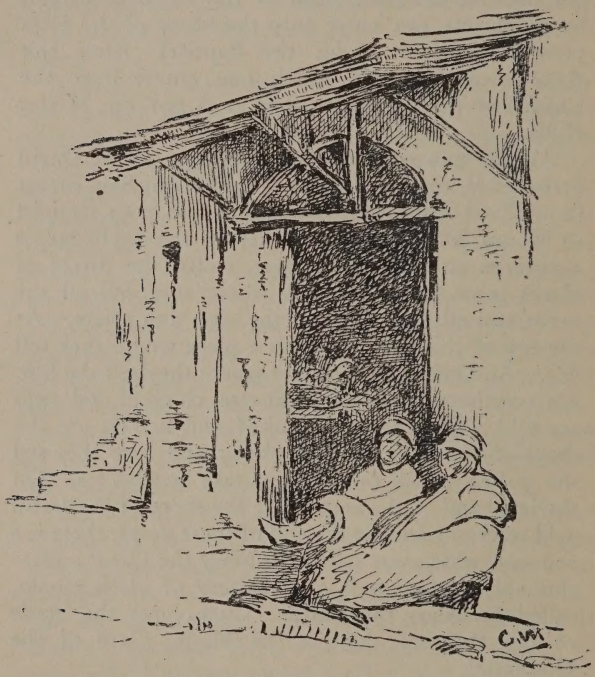
"The great road, which goes from the Tower of David straight to the Golden Gate, is called David Street as far as the Syrian Exchange. On the left hand of the Tower of David there is a large place where they sell corn. On going a little farther down this

David Street, one comes to a street on the left hand, which is called Patriarch Street [now Christian Street], because the Patriarch dwells at the top of it. There is a door on the right hand of the Patriarch Street, by which one can enter into the house of the Hospital [*i. e.* of St. John the Baptist]. After this there is a door by which one enters into the Church of the Sepulchre, but it is not the Master Door.

"When you come to the Exchange, where David Street ends, there is a street called Mount Sion Street [now Tarik Bab Neby Daoud], for it goes straight to Mount Sion; and, on the left of the Exchange, is a covered street, vaulted over, called the Street of Herbs [now Suk el Lahm], where they sell all the herbs and all the fruits of the city, and spices. At the top of this street there is a place where they sell fish. And behind the market where they sell the fish, is a very large place where cheese, chickens and eggs are sold. On the right hand of this market are the shops of the Syrian gold workers; and here they sell the palms, which the pilgrims take beyond sea. On the left hand of the market are the shops of the Latin gold workers; and, at the end of these shops, there is a convent, which was called St. Mary the Great; after this abbey of nuns is a monastery of black monks, called St. Mary the Latin. Then comes the house of the Hospital; here is the Master Gate of the Hospital."

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is then described, after which the account goes on: "Now that I have told you of the Sepulchre, how it is, I will come back to the Exchange. Before the Exchange, close to the Street of Herbs, is a street called Mal-quisinat. In this street they cooked food for the pilgrims, and sold it, and washed their heads. And they went through

this street to the Sepulchre. In front of this Mal-quisinat Street there is a street called the Covered Street, where they sell stuffs; it is entirely



SHOP IN TARIK BAB EL AMUD

vaulted over. And one goes by this street to the Sepulchre.

"Now we will leave the Exchange and go to the Golden Gate. The street by which one goes from the Exchange to the Golden Gate is the Street of the

Temple [now Tarik Bab es Silsileh]. Going down this street you come to Butchers' Place, on the left hand, where they sell the meat of the town. On the right hand is another street, by which one goes to the German Hospital [of the Teutonic Order], which is called German Street [now Harat el Meidan]. On the left hand, on the bridge, is the church of St. Giles. At the top of this street there is a gate, called the Gate Beautiful [now Bab es Silsileh], because by this gate Jesus Christ entered into the city of Jerusalem, when He was on earth.

"The Temple is between the wall of the city and the wall of the Golden Gate. And there is a large space more than an arrow-shot long, and a stone's-throw wide, before one comes to the Temple; this place is paved, wherefore it is called the Pavement. Coming out from the gate, on the right hand is the Temple of Solomon [the Mosque of Aksa], where the Brothers of the Temple live. Between the Gate Beautiful and the Golden Gate is the church of the Temple of the Lord; and this is high, so that one mounts by steps. On ascending these steps, one finds a great area, all paved with marble and very broad, and the pavement goes all round the church of the Temple. The church of the Temple is quite round; and on the left of the high pavement of the Temple is the dwelling-place of the abbot and the canons. In this part there are steps by which one ascends into the Temple from the low pavement to the high part.

"On entering the city by the Gate of St. Stephen [now the Damascus Gate], you come to two streets; one on the right, which goes to the Gate of Mount Sion, which is due south; and the Gate of Mount Sion is over against the Gate of St. Stephen. The street on the left hand goes straight to a postern called the Tannery [now the Dung Gate], going straight

under the bridge. The street which goes to the Gate of Mount Sion is called the Street of St. Stephen [now Khan ez Zeit], until you come to the Syrian Exchange."

It will be seen from the above description how much the central valley of Jerusalem has filled up since the twelfth century, as then the street leading from the Damascus Gate to the Dung Gate passed *under* the street out of which the Bab es Silsileh opened. The old arch, called the "bridge," still exists under-ground; it was explored by Sir Charles Wilson and Sir Charles Warren, who found that the level of the pavement of the lower street was thirty feet below the level of the upper street, which crossed the former at right angles. The level of the lower street, again, is fifty feet above the bottom of the central valley at this point, so that the Tarik Bab es Silsileh is no less than eighty feet above the original level of the central valley. This is a good example of the manner in which the interior valleys of Jerusalem have been filled up with rubbish in the course of many centuries, and shows how difficult it is to get a thorough knowledge of ancient Jerusalem.

King Baldwin II died in 1131, and was succeeded by Fulke, Count of Anjou—who had married Milicent, Baldwin's daughter—during whose reign the city of Jerusalem increased and prospered, although in other parts of the kingdom there were constant wars, not only between the Christians and the Saracens, but between different parties of the Christians themselves. Fulke built a number of strong castles throughout his dominions. Of these the most important were the fortresses of Blanchegarde and Ibelin, both not far from Ascalon, and of Kerak in Moab. The two former were intended to hold in check the Egyptian garrison of Ascalon, which caused continual annoyance

to the Christians. Having escaped death in battle many times, King Fulke was killed by a fall from his horse when hare-hunting at Jaffa in 1141.

As his son Baldwin was only thirteen years old, his mother Milicent was appointed regent and was crowned with him in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It was not long before troubles commenced for the Christian dominions in the East, and, in 1144, Zenghi, the Seljuk Sultan of Damascus, captured the Principality of Edessa, and drove out the Christians; and his son, Nur ed Din, who succeeded him shortly afterwards, began to take steps for the invasion of Palestine. Tidings of the perilous condition of the kingdom of Jerusalem reached Europe, and Bernard, the Abbot of Clairvaux in Champagne, imitating the example set by Peter the Hermit fifty years before, made a tour through France, preaching a Crusade and calling upon all good Christians to go to the assistance of their brethren in the Holy Land. His efforts were crowned with success; King Louis VII of France, and the Emperor Conrad III of Germany took the cross, and bands of Crusaders from all parts of France and Germany, more than one million in number, hurried across Europe to Constantinople. The Germans arrived first, and, without waiting for the French, crossed into Asia Minor, where they were attacked by the Turks and utterly defeated, the emperor himself escaping with difficulty to Nicæa, where King Louis and the French had arrived. It was then decided to take the western road by Ephesus and across the Baba-dagh mountains into Cilicia, when Louis went on by sea to Antioch, leaving his army to follow by road. Then the plague broke out, and, when the Crusaders reunited at Antioch, early in 1178, they were in sadly diminished numbers.

In the following June, Louis and Conrad went on

to Acre, and there met Baldwin and Milicent, the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Grand Masters of the Templars and Hospitallers, to consult as to what steps should be taken to assist the kingdom of Jerusalem. It was decided to attempt to capture Damascus from Nur ed Din, but the attack was badly managed and the Christians had to retreat.

Soon afterwards Antioch fell into the hands of the Turks, and then King Louis and the emperor decided to return to Europe with most of their followers. So ended the Second Crusade, which, after an enormous expenditure of life and money, had done practically nothing to assist the kingdom of Jerusalem.

After the departure of the Crusaders, King Baldwin returned to Jerusalem to defend it from Nur ed Din, who had assembled an army, and, marching through Palestine, camped upon the Mount of Olives. Then the garrison made a sally and completely defeated the Saracens before they had commenced the siege, and Baldwin was so inspirited by this victory that he sent an expedition against Ascalon, and succeeded in taking it after a siege of some months, thus freeing the kingdom from the last stronghold held by the Egyptians, which had harassed pilgrims for more than fifty years.

Although after the capture of Ascalon Jerusalem was at peace from external enemies, there were troubles within the city, for the two great Orders of the Templars and the Hospitallers were getting very truculent, and acted as if they were quite independent of both king and patriarch. They refused to pay tithes to the latter, and when he went to service in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the knights of St. John annoyed him by ringing all their bells, so that the people might not hear his sermons. It is said that the knights went even further than this, and

used to shoot arrows at the people going into the Holy Sepulchre to pray, to show how little they cared for the authority of the patriarch. At last, the poor man could stand it no longer, and went to Rome to complain, but he did not get much satisfaction from the pope, who seems rather to have encouraged the troublesome Grand Masters, as he wished them to own allegiance to *him* rather than to king or patriarch.

Queen Milicent also caused considerable annoyance to the king, and on one occasion, when he was absent on a campaign in the north of Palestine, she took possession of Jerusalem, and, on his return, he had to besiege his own mother, who had fortified herself in the Tower of David. But the quarrel was patched up, and Milicent retired to Nablus, which Baldwin gave her for her very own, and thus satisfied her lust for power. All these quarrels tended to weaken the kingdom, and the reign of King Baldwin III must be looked upon as the commencement of the downward career, which finally led to the loss of the city.

Baldwin died in 1162, and, as he had no son, was succeeded as king by his brother Amaury, Count of Jaffa. At that time there was a struggle in progress between the Fatemite Khalif el Adid of Cairo, and Nur ed Din, the Seljuk Sultan of Damascus who acknowledged the supremacy of the Abbaside Khalif; and when Nur ed Din sent an army under the command of Shirkuh, one of his best generals, into Egypt, El Adid asked King Amaury to assist him, and the latter marched towards Egypt, and, in alliance with the Khalif's troops, besieged Shirkuh in Pelusium, and compelled him to return to Damascus, while Amaury, having taken much booty, came back to Jerusalem.

In 1176 Nur ed Din sent another army into Egypt under the same general, Shirkuh, who on this occasion was accompanied by his nephew, Yusef Salah ed Din,

better known in history by the Europeanized name of Saladin. King Amaury followed him into Egypt, and having made a treaty of friendship with the Khalif, occupied Cairo while Shirkuh retired into the desert. The position was rather a curious one; Amaury, the Christian king of Jerusalem, was assisting the Fatemite Khalif against the Abbaside Khalif, each of whom claimed to be the only true Khalif. Then a treaty of peace was made and the armies returned, one to Damascus and the other to Jerusalem.

In the following year Shirkuh again invaded Egypt, and this time he captured the country. He beheaded the grand vizier and forced the Khalif to appoint him to the office, thus bringing Cairo under the power of Damascus. A few months later Shirkuh died, and the appointment of grand vizier was given to his nephew Saladin, who soon made himself the real master of Egypt, and, on the death of El Adid two years later, did away with the Fatemite dynasty and proclaimed the Abbaside Khalif, El Mostadi, as the head of Islam. In 1170 King Amaury made another expedition into Egypt and besieged Damietta, but he was completely defeated by Saladin, and was glad to be allowed to return quietly to Jerusalem.

Then Amaury fully realized the dangerous position of his kingdom; to the north Damascus; to the south Egypt; both now united under Nur ed Din and his able lieutenant, Saladin. Jerusalem was like a nut between two stones, certain to be crushed, and at a council held after the disastrous expedition to Damietta it was decided to send an embassy to Constantinople to beg for help. The king thought there would be more chance of success if he went himself, and he was received with great honour by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, and many magnificent presents were given him; but he could get no soldiers to fight the Saracens,

and had to return to Jerusalem, realizing that there was no hope of assistance from Europe, and that he would have to rely solely on himself to save the kingdom.

Then followed three years of war; Nur ed Din advanced into Moab from the north, and Saladin from the south, but Amaury defeated them both, and recaptured Moab. In 1174 the Sultan Nur ed Din died, and Saladin, having taken possession of Damascus, became the most powerful ruler in the East. King Amaury died about the same time, and was succeeded by his son Baldwin, a boy of fourteen, who had the misfortune to be a leper. Raymond, Count of Tripoli, was appointed to act as regent, and was fortunate enough to defeat an army which Saladin had brought from Egypt with the intention of attacking Jerusalem. Shortly afterwards a treaty of peace was concluded with Saladin, and the Christians had then a little breathing time, which was utilized in repairing and strengthening the walls of Jerusalem.

Unfortunately at this juncture, when it was of the utmost importance that all should be united, Raymond quarrelled with Baldwin, while the Orders of the Templars and Hospitallers and the nobles of the country made light of the authority of the king, and every man played for his own hand. There seems to have been no thought of religion, and the Christians had quite forgotten why the Crusaders had come to Palestine. On this point the chroniclers are all agreed, and they speak in no measured terms of the wickedness of the Christians, whose morals had fallen far below the standard of their Moslem enemies.

King Baldwin IV became more and more decrepit, and died, after years of suffering, in 1186; he was succeeded by Guy of Lusignan who had married his sister Sybil. Guy was a weak man, unfit for

the post, and, under his rule, the kingdom fell to pieces, and Saladin, realizing that his opportunity had come, assembled a great army at Damascus for the invasion of Palestine, and crossed the Jordan south of the Sea of Galilee on June 26, 1187. The crisis in the history of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem, after many warnings, had come at last.

CHAPTER VII

SALADIN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Yusef Salah ed Din (Saladin), who was destined to play so important a part in the history of Jerusalem, was born in 1137 at Tekrit, a fortress on the Tigris half-way between Bagdad and Mosul, of which his father, Ayub Nejm ed Din was governor, under Zenghi, Prince of Mosul. Zenghi died in 1146, and his dominions were divided among his sons, of whom Nur ed Din took possession of the western provinces, including Aleppo, and, a few years later, of Damascus also, which he made the seat of government. Ayub, the father of Saladin, and his brother Asad ed Din Shirkuh, were highly esteemed by Nur ed Din, who made the former governor of Baalbec, and sent the latter to command the expeditions into Egypt which have already been described, and which led to Saladin becoming Sultan of Egypt in 1169, and of Damascus in 1174.

After taking possession of Damascus, Saladin returned to Egypt, where he remained for eight years, consolidating his power, and built the citadel of Cairo, which still remains as a testimony of his skill in fortification. Leaving Egypt for the last time in 1182, he proceeded to Damascus to devote himself to the main object of his life—to drive the Christians out of Palestine, and to recover Jerusalem, the Holy City, for the faith of Islam. As his biographer, Beha ed Din, expressed

it, "The Sultan believed that it was his duty above all things to devote his whole strength to fulfil the command we have received, to war against the infidels, in recognition of God's mercy in establishing his dominions, in making him master of so many lands, and granting him the obedience and devotion of his people." After several preliminary campaigns, which need not be described, as they do not concern Jerusalem, Saladin united his forces at Tel Ashterah in the Jaulan, and, crossing the Jordan, encamped opposite Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee on June 30, 1187.

Meanwhile, all the forces of the Christian kingdom had assembled at Seffurieh, a small town three miles north of Nazareth, and fifteen miles west of Tiberias. From Jerusalem came King Guy with a large army, the knights of the Orders of the Temple and the Hospital, and the patriarch, who brought the wood of the True Cross to encourage the troops. Raymond, Count of Tripoli, who had been at enmity with the king, made peace, and joined with a contingent, while Renaud of Châtillon, Lord of Kerak, and many other nobles came with their knights and followers, to assist in what every one knew would be the most important battle that had been fought since the Christians captured Jerusalem.

News of the passage of the Jordan and investment of the fortress of Tiberias by Saladin was brought to Seffurieh, and a council was held to discuss what steps should be taken to oppose him. Raymond was of opinion that they should wait, and not attempt to assist the garrison of Tiberias, as the road to that place was waterless, the summer hot, and he feared the troops would die of thirst. The advice was good, and was accepted by all the chiefs except the Grand Master of the Templars, who, after the council had

separated, persuaded the king to advance, and that night the army started for Lubieh, a place six miles from Tiberias.

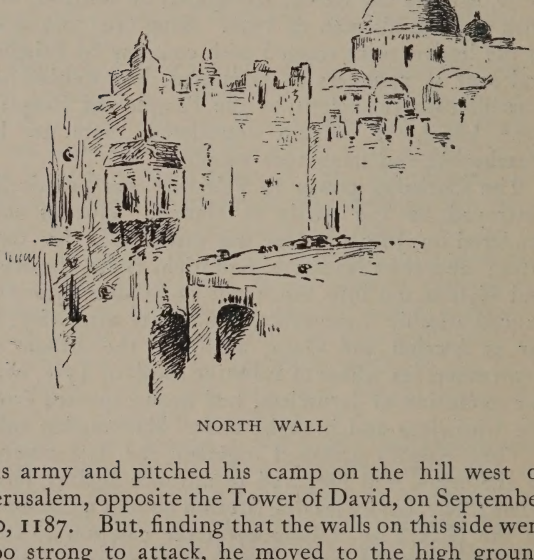
The following day, Friday, July 2, 1187, the Christian and Saracen armies met at Hattin, two miles north of Lubieh, when the former, greatly exhausted for want of water, were utterly defeated, nearly every man being killed or taken prisoner. Raymond of Tripoli was the only chief of importance to escape, as he, early in the battle, seeing that all was lost, fled with some of his men to Tyre. King Guy and most of the leaders were treated with courtesy by Saladin, and sent as prisoners to Damascus, but Renaud de Châtillon and the knights of the Temple and Hospital were killed, as Saladin considered them to be treacherous and dangerous people.

The Christian power in Palestine was practically destroyed by the battle of Hattin. Tiberias surrendered on July 4; Acre was captured a few days later; and then Nazareth, Seffurieh, Haifa, Cæsarea, and Nablus fell into the hands of Saladin, who advanced steadily southwards, taking city after city, as far as Ascalon and Gaza, until, by the middle of September, the whole of Palestine south of Tyre, with the exception of Jerusalem, had been captured from the Christians and brought under Mahomedan rule.

Then Saladin gathered together the detachments of the army, and prepared to advance against Jerusalem; but, before leaving Ascalon he sent a summons to the Holy City, calling upon the garrison to surrender peacefully, and offered what were certainly easy terms. But Balian of Ibelin, a knight who had escaped from the battle of Hattin, and had taken command of the garrison of Jerusalem, decided to reject the terms offered by Saladin, although the chance of being able to make a successful defence of the city was

very small. There was only one other knight beside himself, and as nearly all the able-bodied men had gone north with King Guy, the population was principally composed of old men, women and children, among whom were Queen Sybil and her sister.

Seeing that there was no hope of effecting a peaceful settlement, Saladin marched from Ascalon with all



NORTH WALL

his army and pitched his camp on the hill west of Jerusalem, opposite the Tower of David, on September 20, 1187. But, finding that the walls on this side were too strong to attack, he moved to the high ground outside the north-east corner of the city, the place where Godfrey of Bouillon had camped eighty-eight years previously, and set up his engines of war against the walls, covered by a heavy fire from his archers, of whom he had a large number. He also employed

miners to tunnel under the fortifications, and in ten days had made a practicable breach. His soldiers could see, standing in front of them, the Dome of the Rock, which they were just as anxious to regain as the Crusaders had been to take possession of the Christian shrine, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. There is a full account of the capture of the city in *Jerusalem*, by Walter Besant and E. H. Palmer, of which the following is a résumé—

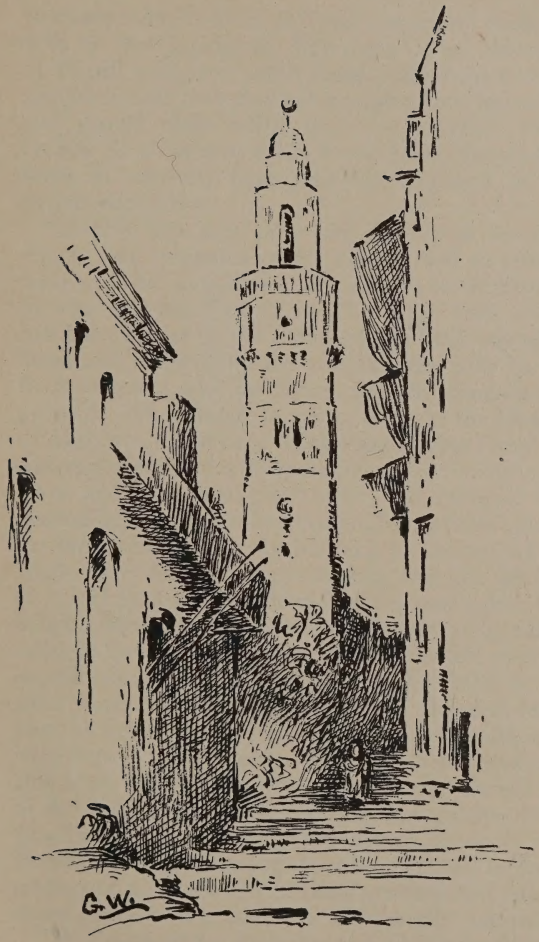
Then Balian, seeing that there was no hope of saving Jerusalem, summoned a council to decide on what had best be done. Some were for making a sally, and dying at the hands of the Saracens rather than to surrender the city. But the patriarch said, "Sirs, if there were no other way, this would be good advice, but, if we destroy ourselves and let the lives perish whom we may save, it is not well, because for every man in this town, there are fifty women and children, whom, if we die, the Saracens will take, and will convert them to their own faith, and so they will be lost to God. But if, by the help of God, we can gain permission to go out from here, and betake ourselves to Christian soil, that would seem to me the better course."

The council agreed with the patriarch, and Balian went out to see Saladin and make the best terms he could. After some discussion Saladin agreed that the Christians should keep their property; but that, for the sake of form, they must be regarded as prisoners of war, and pay a ransom for their persons. The ransom was fixed at ten dinars of Tyre for each man, five for each woman and one dinar for each boy or girl. Then the city was surrendered on October 2, 1187, and the Mahomedans took possession of it in a peaceful manner. Saladin ordered all the gates to be closed except the Jaffa Gate, and placed officers there to

receive the ransom money from the Christians as they went out. But there was not enough money available to pay for all the poor, and of these there were some thousands still remaining in the city. The Christian chronicler Bernard describes what happened next in the following words—

"When all those who were ransomed were out of the city, and there remained yet many poor people, Seif ed Din [Melek el Adel] went to Saladin his brother, and said to him, 'Sire, I have helped to conquer the land and the city. I pray you to give me a thousand slaves of those that are still within it.' Saladin asked him what he would do with them. Seif ed Din replied that he would do with them as seemed him best. Saladin granted his request, and his brother released them all. When Seif ed Din had taken out his thousand captives, the patriarch prayed Saladin to deliver the poor which yet remained. He gave the patriarch seven hundred. Then Balian asked Saladin for some of those left. He gave Balian five hundred. 'And now,' said Saladin, 'I will make my alms.' Then he commanded his bailiffs to open the postern of St. Lazarus (near the Damascus Gate), and to make proclamation through all the city that the poor might go out by this way, only that, if there were any among them who had the means of ransom, they were to be taken to prison."

Queen Sybil and her sister were allowed to go in peace without ransom, and, in the case of many of the Christians, Saladin himself paid the fixed price, while, of all the booty that was found and of the ransom money, he kept nothing for himself, but distributed it among his own people. Nor did his kindness end here, for, when all the inhabitants had come out of Jerusalem, he had them marshalled in three divisions, and attached fifty of his own soldiers to each, in order



MOSQUE OF EL KHANKEH

to escort them in safety to Tyre, the nearest town still held by the Christians. But there Count Raymond of Tripoli refused to admit them, robbed them of the few possessions that they had brought from Jerusalem, and turned them adrift into the country. What became of them afterwards is uncertain, but such of them as survived were probably absorbed in the Syrian population.

Saladin's first step, after the capture of the city, was to take possession of the Haram, and to remove from it, as far as possible, all traces of its occupation by the Knights Templar. The great cross which had been placed on the Dome of the Rock was taken down and replaced by the crescent, the altar on the Rock removed, and the latter carefully cleansed and purified. The mihrab, or prayer niche, in the Mosque of Aksa, which had been blocked up by the Templars, was reopened, and a magnificent pulpit, inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl, that still remains, was erected in the mosque, as a thank-offering from Saladin for the restoration of the building to the worship of Islam. His followers were anxious that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre should be destroyed, but this Saladin refused to allow, and he ordered it to be closed until he had time to decide as to its future use. A certain number of the members of the Order of St. John were allowed to remain in the Hospital for a year, in order to complete the cure of the sick who were then in it, as he had a high opinion of the charitable work done by the Order, while a determined foe of the knights who fought against him in the field. Saladin appears to have taken up his abode in the Hospital during the month that he remained in Jerusalem, and, after the last of the Christians had left, it seems to have been used as a Mahomedan hospital.

The church of St. Anne was turned into a mosque,

with a theological college attached to it, and Melek el Adel, the Sultan's brother, who was appointed governor of Jerusalem, took up his quarters with part of the garrison in the convent of St. Mary on Mount Sion. It was probably at this time that the great church of St. Mary, originally built by Justinian, was destroyed, as in the work called *The City of Jerusalem*, already quoted, which was written only a few years later, the author says, "Towards the south, above the city of Jerusalem, is Mount Sion. There was the great church, which is thrown down, where our Lady died, and thence the Apostles bore her to Jehoshaphat" (*i. e.* the Valley of Kedron). No reason for the demolition of the church is given anywhere, but it may have been done in connection with the arrangements made by Melek el Adel for quartering his troops, and it is not impossible that the latter were glad to have the opportunity of destroying one Christian church in Jerusalem, as Saladin had refused them permission to destroy the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Saladin, having made all necessary arrangements in Jerusalem, left the city on October 30, 1187, and returned to Acre, where he made preparations for besieging Tyre by sea and land. The Egyptian fleet was brought from Alexandria to blockade the town, while the army opened trenches on the land side. The operation, however, proved a failure, as the Christian ships sallied from the harbour and destroyed a number of the Egyptian vessels. This was a great blow to Saladin, who abandoned the siege of Tyre, and went into winter quarters in Acre. The Christians, on the other hand, were greatly inspirited, and began to make plans for attacking Acre.

Saladin spent the winter in strengthening the defences of Acre, and, in the spring of 1188, started on

a campaign in Syria, where he captured the important towns one after the other, and made himself master of the country, while the Christians were only able to hold the line of the coast. In January 1189 he paid a visit to Jerusalem to take farewell of his brother, Melek el Adel, who had been appointed governor of Egypt; and, as it was the Moslem month of pilgrimage, a great feast was held, and a special service of prayer conducted in the Dome of the Rock. It may have been at this time that the regulations respecting Christians were somewhat relaxed, and that Syrian Christians were permitted to the Holy City, while European Christians were excluded. The Saracens appear always to have been well-disposed towards the former, while the war was with the latter. This distinction between the native and foreign Christians was very important, but is hardly alluded to by the European chroniclers, who belonged to the latter class, and looked upon the former as heretics, and little better than Mahomedans.

Meanwhile, a new Crusade for the recovery of Jerusalem was being preached in Europe by William, Archbishop of Tyre, who had left Syria soon after the battle of Hattin, and travelled through France, calling upon all good Christians to come to the assistance of their brethren in the Holy Land. Pope Clement III greatly encouraged the movement, and Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, did his best to stir up the English. Their efforts were crowned with success, and three sovereigns, Frederick I, Emperor of Germany, Richard I, King of England, and Philip Augustus, King of France, took the Cross, and raised armies for the expedition to Palestine.

The Emperor of Germany started first, and, with a force of about one hundred thousand men, marched through Hungary to Constantinople, and across Asia

Minor; but he never reached Palestine, as he died in Cilicia, and was succeeded in the command by his son, Frederick, Duke of Swabia. By the time the German army arrived in Syria, its numbers had been greatly diminished by fighting and pestilence, and only a few thousands succeeded in reaching Tyre, where King Guy had collected his forces for the attack upon Acre. The king had been released from prison by Saladin upon taking a solemn oath that he would not fight against him; but, as soon as he returned from captivity, he obtained permission from the priests to break his oath, apparently on the ground that an oath to an infidel was not binding upon a Christian.

The Christian army started from Tyre in July, 1189, and camped outside Acre in August, while Saladin, who had marched rapidly from the north with a large army, reached the city soon afterwards, and sent in supplies and reinforcements. Then commenced a kind of double siege, as the Christians were attacking Acre, while Saladin and his army, who had settled down a few miles away, were constantly attacking the Christians. Little progress was made with the siege for a year, but, in August, 1190, Count Henry of Champagne arrived by sea with ten thousand Frenchmen, a very welcome addition to the army, which was far too small for the work it had to do. Another winter passed, and then, in April, 1191, King Philip Augustus arrived with another army, and was followed, two months later, by King Richard with the English Crusaders.

The Christian army had now been raised to a strength of more than one hundred thousand, and the siege of Acre was pushed on with great vigour, and at length, being reduced to great extremities, the garrison surrendered on July 12, 1191, on the condition that their lives and property would be spared. Notwithstanding

this, King Richard ordered the massacre of three thousand of the prisoners soon after the surrender. Beha ed Din describes this sad incident in the following words: "The Franks rushed upon them all at once, and slaughtered them in cold blood with sword and lance. The advanced guard had previously informed the Sultan that the enemy had got to horse, and he sent them some reinforcements, but they did not arrive until the massacre had been accomplished. As soon as the Moslems saw what they were doing to the prisoners, they rushed down on the Franks, and a certain number were killed and wounded on both sides in the action that took place, and that lasted until night separated the combatants. The following morning our people went out to see what had happened, and found all the Moslems who had been martyred for the Faith, stretched on the ground; they were able to recognize some of them. This was a terrible grief to them. The enemy had only spared the prisoners of note, and such as were strong to labour. Various motives have been assigned for this massacre. According to some, the prisoners were killed to avenge the deaths of those previously slain by the Moslems; others say that the King of England, having made up his mind to try and take Ascalon, did not think it prudent to leave so many prisoners behind in Acre. God only knows what his reason really was." But whatever King Richard's reason may have been, his action had the effect that Saladin ordered that all Christian prisoners taken in future were to be killed.

Shortly after the capture of Acre, King Philip Augustus, who thought he had done enough for the Crusade, returned to France, leaving King Richard in sole command of the large army which was being prepared to march upon Jerusalem. Establishing a strong garrison in Acre, Richard started on August 22,

1191, and moved by the coast road towards Jaffa, while Saladin marched parallel with him but farther inland. Fighting took place every day, which culminated in a great battle at Arsuf, nine miles north of Jaffa, when the Christians were victorious, and drove the Mahomedans off the field, leaving a large number of killed and wounded; but Richard was unable to pursue them to any distance, as his troops were greatly wearied, and he continued his march to Jaffa, which was occupied on September 10, and the army settled down to recruit.

Saladin, who was much disheartened by the defeat at Arsuf, decided that he was not strong enough to defend both Jerusalem and Ascalon; so, as the former was the more important city, he decided to destroy the fortifications of Ascalon completely, and the work was carried out under the personal directions of the Sultan. Then, leaving his army at Ramleh to prevent King Richard advancing from Jaffa, he proceeded to Jerusalem to see that the fortifications were put in a thorough state of defence, and that provisions and other supplies were collected in sufficient quantities to enable the garrison to stand a siege. Returning to Ramleh, he demolished that town and Lydda, and retired with his army to Latrun on the road to Jerusalem, while Melek el Adel was sent to take command of the latter city. The Saracen and Christian armies then settled down for the winter, the former at Latrun and the latter at Jaffa.

During this period of waiting, there were constant negotiations between King Richard and Saladin, both of whom were anxious to make peace, and one proposition made by the former was remarkable. It was to the effect that his sister Joan, widow of the King of Sicily, should marry Saladin's brother, Melek el Adel, and that they were to be joint king and queen

of Jerusalem; that the city and the dominions of the kingdom of Jerusalem were to be restored to the Christians; that the wood of the True Cross was to be given back to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, that all Christian and Moslem prisoners were to be released; and that, when all was arranged, King Richard was to return to his own country.

But the proposal came to nothing, for, although Melek el Adel was prepared to marry the Princess Joan, the latter refused to marry him unless he became a Christian. As regards the other terms, Saladin replied, "Jerusalem belongs to us just as much as to you, and is more precious in our eyes than in yours, for it was the place of our Prophet's journey and the place where the angels gathered. Therefore, do not imagine that we shall give the city up to you, or that we shall suffer ourselves to be persuaded in this matter. As regards the land, it belonged originally to us, and you came to attack us; if you succeeded in getting possession of it, it was only because you came unexpectedly, and on account of the weakness of the Moslems who then held it; as long as the war lasts, God will not suffer you to raise one stone upon another in this country. Lastly, as concerns the Cross, its possession is a great advantage to us, and we cannot give it up, except we could thereby gain some advantage to Islam."

While the negotiations were going on, King Richard gave Cyprus, which he had conquered while on his voyage to Palestine, to King Guy of Jerusalem, and appointed Conrad, Marquess of Montferrat, to be titular king of Jerusalem. Conrad, however, did not hold the dignity long, as he was assassinated by two of his own servants in Tyre shortly afterwards. A good deal of mystery attaches to this murder, and considerable suspicion fell on King Richard, who had never

been on good terms with Conrad, and who wanted Tyre himself. Henry, Count of Champagne, a good friend of Richard, was then made titular king of Jerusalem.

In the spring of 1192, the war recommenced, and, in May, Richard sent an army to Gaza, and captured Darun, a fortress eight miles south of Gaza on the road to Egypt. This was followed by the defeat, in June, of an Egyptian force, which was marching to the assistance of Saladin. After these two victories Richard decided that the time had come for the long-delayed advance upon Jerusalem, and, leaving Jaffa, encamped at Beit Nuba, a village three miles north of Bab el Wad, on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road, and thirteen miles from the latter.

Saladin, who had retired to Jerusalem with his army, held a council of war on July 2, 1192, and it was decided that, while a strong garrison was to be left in the city, the bulk of the Moslem forces was to move out and meet the Christians in the open field, as soon as they approached. The fate of Jerusalem would, of course, have been decided by the battle, which, as events turned out, never took place; for, just as Saladin was preparing to march, a messenger came in to report that there was discord among the Christians, and that some wanted to take the Holy City, and others wanted to go home. The accounts of what had happened differ; one writer says that it was King Richard who wanted to push on, and the French refused to follow him; while another chronicler relates that it was the French who wished to advance, while Richard became alarmed on account of the lack of water for the troops. But, however this may have been, the result was the same, as the Crusaders returned to Ramleh, while Saladin, greatly to his surprise, was left in peaceful possession of Jerusalem.

After his return to Jaffa, King Richard sailed for Acre and Beirut to settle affairs in the north, and, taking advantage of his absence, Saladin decided to attempt the capture of Jaffa. Marching with a large army from Jerusalem, he made his attack on August 9, and, after desperate fighting, succeeded in taking possession of the city, but was unable to capture the citadel, which was strongly fortified. While the result of the conflict was doubtful, a fleet of fifty ships, on board one of which was King Richard, arrived, and Saladin was obliged to retire.

Then negotiations for peace were recommenced, and after much discussion, it was decided that there should be a truce of three years and eight months, commencing on September 2, 1192, during which each party was to hold the country then in its possession; that no further attempt should be made to capture Jerusalem, but that there should be free passage for all persons travelling peaceably, and that pilgrims should be allowed free access to the Holy Places. It was also arranged that the demolition of the fortifications of Ascalon was to be completed, and the work was carried out by the Christians and Saracens conjointly.

Shortly after the truce had been concluded, King Richard went to Acre, and embarked for Europe in October, 1192, after handing over the command of the army to Henry of Champagne. Richard had shown himself by far the greatest of the Crusading leaders, but had failed to accomplish the work for which he had come from England, the recovery of Jerusalem. The incidents of his journey home are well-known; wrecked on the Adriatic, he endeavoured to travel by land, and after having been taken prisoner by the Duke of Swabia and passing through many adventures, he reached England in March, 1194, and at once made

war against Philip Augustus, King of France, his late ally in the Holy Land.

Saladin greatly encouraged the visits of Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem, and even arranged for escorts to bring them in safety from and back to Jaffa. His feeling seemed to be that as soon as the Crusaders had seen the Holy Places, they would return to Europe, and not remain in Palestine to give him trouble after the truce came to an end. King Richard, on the contrary, so long as he remained in the country, put every obstacle in the way of the pilgrims, and actually wrote to Saladin to ask him to stop them. But the Sultan replied, "There are men here, who have come from afar to visit the Holy Places, and our law forbids us to hinder them." Jerusalem then seems to have settled down into the same condition as that which it was in, a hundred years previously, before the invasion of the Seljuks in 1094, the Egyptians governing the city, and maintaining order, while Christians and Mahomedans lived peacefully together.

The war having thus come to an end, the Moslem army was dispersed, and the chiefs returned to their respective governments, after Saladin had taken leave of them with kind expressions of gratitude for the great services they had rendered during the long campaign. To his son, Melek ez Zaher, who had been appointed Lord of Aleppo, he addressed the following remarkable words. "I commend you to God Almighty. He is the source of all good. Do the will of God, for that is the way of peace. Beware of bloodshed; trust not in that, for spilt blood never sleeps. Seek to gain the hearts of thy subjects, and watch over all their interests, for thou art only appointed by God and by me to look after their good; endeavour to gain the hearts of thy generals, thy ministers and thy nobles. I have become great as I am because I have won the

hearts of men by gentleness and kindness. Never nourish ill-feeling against any man, for death spares none. Be prudent in thy dealings with other men, for God will not pardon unless they forgive you; but as to that which is between God and thyself, He will pardon the penitent, for He is gracious."

Saladin remained in Jerusalem until he heard that King Richard had actually sailed for Europe, and then started on a tour of inspection of his fortresses in Palestine and Syria, arriving in Damascus in November, 1192. He looked forward to some years of peace, and hoped to make a pilgrimage to Mecca in the following year; but in this he was doomed to disappointment, as, in February, 1193, he was attacked by fever and died, after a short illness, at the comparatively early age of fifty-six, deeply regretted by all his people. Saladin was buried close to the great mosque of Damascus, where his tomb still exists and is constantly visited by Mahomedans.

Saladin was one of the greatest, if not the greatest, leader of Islam who had arisen since the Khalif Omar, but, unfortunately for the country, there was no one strong man to follow in his footsteps, and his dominions were divided among his sons, the eldest, Melek el Afdal, becoming Lord of Damascus and of Palestine; the second, Melek el Aziz, Sultan of Egypt; and the third, Melek ez Zaher, Lord of Aleppo; while Saladin's brother, Melek el Adel, was Sultan of Mesopotamia. Of these four, Melek el Adel was the most powerful, and, a few years later, he succeeded in reuniting the Great Sultan's dominions under his own rule.

After the failure of King Richard to capture Jerusalem, and his departure from Palestine, the city of Acre was made the capital of the Christian kingdom, which had been reduced to a strip of country along the

coast, and there the titular king of Jerusalem had his court, the Grand Masters of the three Orders of Chivalry their palaces, and the Latin patriarch his residence. Acre was, in fact, made as far as possible a replica of what Jerusalem had been, and continued to be the capital for nearly one hundred years, until the Christians were finally expelled from Palestine in 1291.

King Henry of Champagne did not long hold the title, as, in 1197, he was killed by falling from the window of his palace in Acre, when his widow, Isabella, married Amaury de Lusignan, brother of King Guy, who became king of Jerusalem. Isabella had been the wife of Conrad of Montferrat before marrying Henry of Champagne, so that she was the wife of three kings of Jerusalem in succession.

At the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries there were two more Crusades, but as these had no effect on the history of Jerusalem it is only necessary to refer to them very briefly. The first of the two Crusades was in 1197, when Henry VI, Emperor of Germany, landed at Acre and did some ineffectual fighting, which led to nothing; while the other, usually called the Fourth Crusade, though properly speaking the Fifth, never reached Palestine at all, as the leaders contented themselves with capturing Constantinople, dethroning the Greek emperor, Alexius, and setting up Baldwin, Count of Flanders, as Latin emperor in his stead.

In 1216 another Crusade, which was set on foot by Pope Innocent III, led to more important results. A large army under Andrew, King of Hungary, landed at Acre in 1217 and marched to the Jordan, meeting with no resistance from the Saracens. But they made no attempt to retake Jerusalem, and, on their return to Acre, the King of Hungary went home, and John,

Count of Brienne, who had succeeded Amaury as titular king of Jerusalem, took command of the army. King John also avoided an advance to the Holy City, and led his forces into Egypt to besiege Damietta. This action of the Christians greatly alarmed Melek el Muazzem, the nephew of Saladin, then Sultan of Damascus, as he feared that King John, after capturing

IN BEZETHA

Damietta, would seize Jerusalem, and use it as a base of operations against himself. He therefore ordered a complete demolition of the fortifications, so as to make Jerusalem an open city. It is a little difficult to know how far the demolition was actually completed, but one account says that the walls were utterly destroyed, with the exception of the citadel of the Tower of David and the walls of the Haram enclosure. Muazzem had also proposed to destroy the Church of

the Holy Sepulchre, but "no man dared to lay hands thereon," and, indeed, it would have been foolish to do so, as the tribute taken from pilgrims was a considerable source of revenue.

As events turned out, it proved that Muazzem's action was premature and unnecessary. When Damietta had been taken, after a siege of two years, King John decided to advance upon Cairo, not anticipating any serious resistance; but the Sultan el Kamil assembled a large army and blocked the road, while the retreat of the Christians was cut off by the inundation of the Nile. No provisions could be obtained, and the army was reduced to so miserable a condition that the king had to go to see the sultan and plead for peace. The chronicler relates that the king, when he arrived at the tent of el Kamil, "sat down and shed tears. 'Sire,' said the sultan, 'why do you weep?' 'Sire,' replied the king, 'I do well to weep, for the people with whom God has charged me, I see perishing in the midst of the waters, and dying of hunger.' Then the sultan had pity on the king and wept himself, and every day, for nearly a week, he sent thirty thousand loaves to poor and rich." A treaty of peace was arranged without much difficulty, the king surrendering Damietta, and returning to Acre with the remnants of his army. About the same time the Sultan el Kamil obtained possession of Jerusalem, as he had got the upper hand in the contest with the Sultan of Damascus.

King John went to Europe in 1223 to try and interest the monarchs in the affairs of the Holy Land. In Italy he met Frederick II, Emperor of Germany, with whom he made friends, and the emperor married Yolande, John's daughter, thus obtaining a claim to be heir to the kingdom of Jerusalem. Frederick undertook to raise an army and proceed to Acre as soon

as he could, but he was in rather a difficult position, as he had been excommunicated by the pope. The latter, however, agreed to remove the interdict provided the emperor took the Cross, which, as King John's son-in-law, he was naturally quite willing to do.

Frederick started with his army in August, 1227, but, before he had gone very far, he fell ill and returned to Italy, whereupon the pope excommunicated him for the second time and forbade him to go to the Holy Land. The emperor, however, who was of an obstinate disposition, did not pay any attention to this order; and, as soon as he had recovered from his illness, proceeded to Acre, where, being under the ban of the pope, he was coldly received, especially by the Grand Masters of the Temple and of the Hospital, who were the obedient servants of the pope. He therefore entered into negotiations with the Sultan el Kamil, who was favourably disposed towards him, and a treaty was made, under which Jerusalem was to be surrendered to the emperor, on condition that he did not rebuild the walls, and that there was to be a truce between the Christians and Mahomedans for ten years and ten months from February 20, 1229.

This would seem to have been a satisfactory arrangement, but it was strongly objected to both by the Mahomedans and the Christians; by the former, because they considered that el Kamil had no right to surrender the Holy City; while, on the other hand, the patriarch and the Grand Masters would have nothing to do with the treaty, because the emperor had been excommunicated by the pope, and the latter had not given his consent to the negotiations with el Kamil. Frederick, however, cared nothing for the opposition, and, taking the Teutonic Knights

with him, proceeded to Jerusalem, which was duly handed over to him in accordance with orders from the sultan. Then he crowned himself as king in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the priests refusing to take any part in the ceremony.

It was really a remarkable situation. After a contest of many years for the possession of Jerusalem, and the slaughter of countless numbers of people, here was a Christian monarch who walked quietly into the city as king, without shedding a drop of blood, while the European Christians absolutely refused to profit by the arrangement, because the pope had not been a party to the transaction. There can be no doubt that it was a grave error on the part of Pope Gregory IX, who, if he had only accepted the situation, would have recovered his power in Jerusalem, as the emperor wrote to inform him that, by the help of God, he had fulfilled the vows made when he took the Cross, and humbly asked for absolution. But the pope, who was as obstinate as Frederick himself, refused to have anything to do with him, and actually called upon the European subjects of the latter to rebel against his authority. The pope also sent John, the titular king of Jerusalem, into Apulia, to capture that province from his own son-in-law, because the latter had just succeeded in recovering Jerusalem from the Mahomedans!

The emperor, as soon as he heard that his possessions in Europe were in danger, decided to return home at once, leaving Jerusalem in charge of a German governor, so that his stay in Palestine was much shorter than he expected, and he was never able to return. He was the last Christian king who resided in Jerusalem, and his son-in-law, King John, also ceased to have any connection with the Holy Land, as he was elected Latin emperor of Constantinople. Although in after years there were others who called themselves

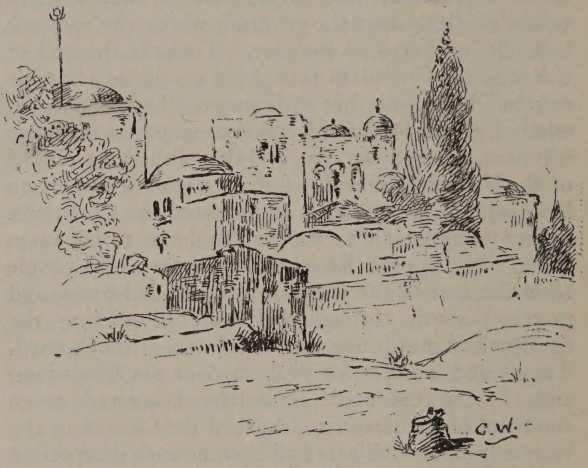
kings of Jerusalem, the title may be regarded as having really come to an end with the departure of the Emperor Frederick from Palestine.

The truce for ten years which Frederick had made with the Egyptians was well kept, and, during this period, there was peace in Jerusalem, although the Christians were at times afraid that the Mahomedans would revolt against the governor whom the emperor had left in charge of the city. Towards the end of the time the Christians thought it would be advisable to rebuild the walls, but little progress had been made, when the Emir David of Kerak, knowing that the truce was over, entered the city, and demolished the citadel of the Tower of David. But he does not appear to have injured the churches or molested the Christians.

Five years later a far heavier trial was to fall upon them. In 1244 the Kharezmian Tartars, wild people from the east of the Caspian Sea, invaded Syria, and marched south through Palestine, plundering the country and murdering the inhabitants as they passed. They cared neither for Mahomedans nor Christians, and, having captured Jerusalem, murdered seven thousand of the latter, and burned the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. There had been no such destruction since the days of the Khalif Hakem.

This invasion of barbarians had, however, the effect of making the Christians and Mahomedans unite to drive out the common enemy, and an army under Count Walter of Brienne joined the forces of the sultans of Damascus, Emesa, and Kerak, in the plains of Philistia near Ascalon. The Kharezmian army was near Gaza, where it was joined by the Egyptians, who saw an opportunity of recovering Southern Palestine. The battle that ensued was one of the hardest fought in the history of the Holy Land, and ended in the complete defeat of the Christians and their allies, the

Syrian Moslems; only a few knights succeeded in escaping to Tyre. Then the Egyptian sultan sent the Kharezmians to attack Damascus, while he took possession of Jerusalem, and put an end to the Christian occupation, but he does not appear to have ill-treated the Christians. The walls of the city, which had been



THE MAHOMEDAN QUARTER

destroyed by Melek el Muazzem, were then again rebuilt, the north, west and east walls on the same lines as before, while the south wall was laid out on a different line, as it took in a larger part of Mount Sion and included the convent of St. Mary. This new south wall, which was of inferior masonry to the older walls, is shown on a plan attached to the description of the city by Marino Sanuto, written in 1321. The wall was destroyed when the Turks rebuilt the fortifications in 1542, but the foundations of it were discovered by

Doctor F. J. Bliss, when conducting the excavations at Jerusalem in 1896.

In 1248, Louis IX, King of France, generally known as St. Louis, started on a Crusade (the Seventh) for the recovering of Jerusalem; but, after spending the winter in Cyprus, he decided, in place of going direct to Acre, to begin operations by the capture of Damietta, and sailed for Egypt in the summer of the following year. On landing, it was found that the Egyptians had abandoned Damietta, and the French occupied it without difficulty. Here the king stopped for six months, waiting for his brother, the Count of Poitiers, who was coming from France with reinforcements, and in December, 1249, the entire French army started on the march to Cairo. Fighting every step of the way, the French succeeded in getting as far as Mansureh, where they were completely defeated, King Louis himself, and all of his army that remained alive, being taken prisoners by the Egyptians. The latter, however, behaved with considerable leniency, and after a time the king and his troops were allowed to depart, after Damietta had been surrendered, and ransom paid for the prisoners. Then a large number of the Crusaders returned to France, while King Louis, with his followers who remained, proceeded to Acre, where he arrived early in 1250. The Egyptian campaign had been a complete failure; it had not helped towards the recovery of Jerusalem, and had only shown the Egyptians that they were stronger than the Christians.

King Louis remained four years in Palestine and rebuilt the fortifications of the coast towns, Sidon, Cæsarea and Jaffa; but he made no attempt to capture Jerusalem, and would not even visit it as a pilgrim, although the Sultan offered to give him a safe-conduct. A certain amount of fighting went on between his

troops and the Saracens, but it led to nothing, and after a time the Grand Masters of the Templars and Hospitallers and the other Christian chiefs belonging to the country seem to have got tired of his presence, apparently because he required a higher standard of religion and morality than suited them. They came to him at Sidon, where he had just completed the fortifications, and addressed him in the following words: "Sire, you have fortified the city of Sidon and that of Cæsarea, and the town of Jaffa, all of which is a great advantage for the Holy Land; and you have greatly strengthened Acre by the walls and towers which you have built. Sire, we have deliberated among ourselves, and we do not see that your sojourn here can be of any benefit to the kingdom of Jerusalem; wherefore we advise and counsel you to proceed to Acre in the coming Lent, and to prepare your passage so that you may return to France after Easter." This was a very decided hint, which the king acted on, and sailed for Cyprus on April 24, 1254, leaving the Christians in the Holy Land to their own devices.

During the campaign of King Louis in Egypt, the Ayubite dynasty of Memluk sultans, which had been founded by Saladin, came to an end, and was succeeded by the Bahry dynasty, of which the third sultan, el Mozaffar, reunited Syria to Egypt. His successor, Sultan Beybars, a man of renown, who had distinguished himself greatly in the war with the French, and had come to the throne in 1260, determined to continue the work which had been commenced by Saladin, and to attempt the complete expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land. Marching into Palestine with a large army, he captured the few remaining inland castles held by the Templars and the Hospitallers, and, in 1268, besieged the city of Antioch. This was taken without much difficulty,

and it is said that seventeen thousand Christians were killed and the remainder sold for slaves.

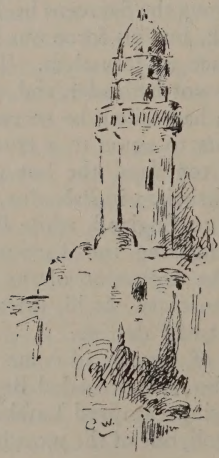
Once more, and for the last time, messengers were sent from Acre to Europe, begging urgently for assistance to save the remains of the Christian kingdom, but the Crusading spirit had died out, and the appeal met with little response. King Louis of France, however, took the Cross, much to the distress of his own people, and, having collected an army, embarked for the Crusade. But then, instead of sailing for the Holy Land, he went to Tunis, and there died in 1270, though how he could have expected to assist the Christians in Palestine by a campaign in Tunis, it is impossible to understand.

The only Crusaders who proceeded to Acre were about one thousand Englishmen, led by Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward I, who landed in the Holy Land in 1271, and took command of a Christian army of about seven thousand men, including his own troops. Prince Edward drove the Saracens back from Acre and captured Nazareth, but his force was far too small to attempt an advance to Jerusalem. The Prince had, however, proved a worthy leader, and, after an attempt to assassinate him had failed, he succeeded in getting the Sultan Beybars to agree to a truce of ten years, ten months, and ten days, the last period of peace enjoyed by the Christians in Palestine. Then Prince Edward returned to England, while Beybars devoted his attention to fighting the Tartars in the north. He died before the expiration of the truce, and was therefore unable to carry out his intention of driving the Christians out of Palestine.

After the time of peace had come to an end, the Sultan Kalaun, who had succeeded Beybars, reopened the war, and, having captured Latakia, advanced, in 1287, against Tripoli, one of the most important of the

Christian cities. Although it was strongly fortified, the city fell after a siege of thirty-five days, and all the inhabitants were killed or sold into slavery. Then Kalaun prepared to advance on Acre itself, but died before he could begin the siege, and left directions to his son, el Ashraf Khalil, that his body should not be buried until the city was taken. The Egyptian army appeared before the walls in April, 1291, and after a siege of forty-three days, during which the Christians defended themselves with the greatest valour, a breach was made in the walls and Acre was captured. A large number of the inhabitants were slain, and all the remainder were forced to leave the country. Then Tyre, Sidon and the other cities on the coast surrendered, making the best terms they could, and the Egyptians took possession of the whole country.

Thus the Christian occupation of the Holy Land came to an end, after having lasted for nearly two centuries.



CHAPTER VIII

JERUSALEM FROM THE FALL OF ACRE TO THE PRESENT DAY

WITH the exception of the demolition of the walls of Jerusalem by Sultan el Muazzem, Lord of Damascus, in 1219, and of the citadel by David, Emir of Kerak in 1239, and the restoration of these fortifications by Sultan Es Salih Ayub of Egypt in 1245, not many changes were made in the buildings of the city during the century that passed after its capture by Saladin, and the final expulsion of the Christians from Palestine. It has already been mentioned that Saladin removed, as far as possible, from the Dome of the Rock, all traces of its occupation by the Knights of the Temple, and also from the Mosque of Aksa, and further work upon these buildings was carried out by Sultans Beybars and Kalaun. The date of erection of the seven-arched portico on the north front of the Mosque el Aksa is doubtful, but by some it is attributed to Sultan el Muazzem. The Haram enclosure, and its buildings, was left in the possession of the Mahomedans when the Emperor Frederick took possession of Jerusalem, as this was part of his agreement with Sultan el Kamil. This may have been one of the reasons why the Templars were so vigorously opposed to his plans, as they may have considered it would be undignified to return to the city and not be able to resume occupation of what they regarded as their own property.

During the thirteenth century little appears to have been done to the Christian churches in Jerusalem beyond repairing the damage which had been caused, when the Kharezmian Tartars took possession of the city in 1244. When the Tartars returned to their own country, and the rule of the Egyptian Sultans was again established, matters seemed to have quieted down, and Christian pilgrims were allowed to visit the Holy Places as before, on payment of a tax, and they were taken in and cared for in the hospices of the Greek Church. The Latin Church was only represented by a few brethren of the Franciscan Order, who had been allowed to settle in the city by Sultan el Kamil, and to hold services in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

These Franciscans appear to have been murdered in the massacre of 1244, but they were succeeded by others, and at the end of the thirteenth, or beginning of the fourteenth century, the Egyptian Sultan gave them the remains of the convent of St. Mary on Sion as a place of residence. This favour was granted to them at the request of the King of Sicily, who, as Felix Fabri relates, " went up to Jerusalem under the Sultan's safe-conduct, saw and kissed the Holy Places, and then went to Egypt to the sultan, and begged him that he would give him the church of Mount Sion, with the adjoining buildings, the Blessed Virgin Mary's chapel in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with the adjoining chambers, the chamber of the Lord's Sepulchre, the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and the cave of the Lord's Nativity in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Bethlehem with the buildings adjoining to that church, for the Minorite [*i. e.* Franciscan] brethren, whom he had already consented should be lodged elsewhere in Jerusalem, to dwell in. When the

Minorite brethren had received these places, they built thereon three convents; the first on Mount Sion, where before there had been a convent of canons regular; the second in the church of the Lord's Resurrection, by the side of the Blessed Virgin's chapel, for the use of the guardians of the Holy Sepulchre; and the third at Bethlehem." It was probably at this time that the chamber on Mount Sion was built, which is now shown as the Place of the Last Supper.

In after years the Franciscan brethren were deprived of their convent on Mount Sion for a rather curious reason, which had its origin in a tradition, first mentioned in the early part of the twelfth century, that King David and King Solomon were buried on the hill, near the place where the Emperor Justinian built the great basilica of St. Mary. The origin of the story is given in the account of his travels by Benjamin of Tudela, a learned Jew, who visited Jerusalem in 1163. He relates that, a few years previous to his visit, some workmen, who had been engaged upon the repair of the walls of the church on Sion, happened by accident to break into a cave, and, entering therein, they found themselves in a large hall, the roof of which was supported by marble pillars, encrusted with gold and silver. There was a table with a golden crown and sceptre upon it, and great chests stood around; but, before they had time to examine these, a terrible blast of wind drove them out of the cave, and left them nearly dead. Full of fear, they went to the patriarch, and told him what they had seen. He consulted with the Rabbi Abraham, who informed him that the cave must be the sepulchre of King David, and the kings of Judah. The patriarch thereupon ordered the cave to be securely walled up so as to conceal it completely.

Whatever the truth of the story told by the workmen may have been, the tradition remains to the present day that the sepulchres of David and Solomon are on Mount Sion, but no attempt appears to have been made to investigate the matter further. As, however, the Moslems have great respect for King David and King Solomon, the place of the supposed tomb was taken away from the Franciscans in the fifteenth century, and some years later, when the Turks took possession of Jerusalem, the brethren were expelled altogether from the convent of Mount Sion.

There is an interesting account of the condition of Jerusalem in the latter part of the thirteenth century, written by a certain German pilgrim, known as Burchard of Mount Sion, who made a tour in the East shortly before the Christians were expelled from the Holy Land, and who resided for some time in Jerusalem. He seems to have had no difficulty in travelling through the country, and was on good terms with the Mahomedans, of whom he says, "They are very hospitable, courteous and kindly." In speaking of the Greeks he remarks, "In the Greek Church all the prelates are monks, and are men of exceeding austerity of life and wondrous virtue. The Greeks are exceeding devout, and for the most part, greatly honour and revere their prelates." But of the Latin Christians in Palestine he had nothing good to say, for, as he remarks, "to tell the truth, our own people, the Latins, are worse than all the other people of the land."

Burchard gives a full account of his visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and describes the different chapels and holy places connected with it, all of which were very much as they are at the present day, and in good condition, showing that they must have been thoroughly repaired after the injuries done

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by the Kharezmian Tartars. Of the position of Jerusalem he says, "It is a pretty large city, and does not, as some vainly declare, stand in a different place to what it did at the time of the Lord's Passion. The argument on that side is that, since the Lord suffered without the gate, and that place is now within the city walls, therefore the city must stand in a different place. But they know not what they say, and want to show what they have not seen. The city stands now where it hath ever stood, for, since the Lord's Temple stands within the city walls, it would be foolish, nay, altogether impossible, to move it to another place, because of the walls, with which it is fenced on all sides, the like whereof it could in nowise have elsewhere. But, as a matter of fact, it has spread itself out in width, though not in length, and the whole of the ancient city is now within the walls, and is inhabited; but, at this day, there are very few inhabitants for so great a city, because the people thereof dwell in continual terror."

Considering that Burchard visited Jerusalem only a few years after the Kharezmians had plundered the city, and killed nearly all the Christians, it was no wonder that the population was small, and that the inhabitants lived in continual terror; but, as events turned out, they lived in safety under their Egyptian masters for many years, and were left in undisturbed possession of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is interesting to note, from Burchard's description, that he was in some doubt as to the authenticity of the site of the latter, on account of its position within the walls of the city. The same difficulty has presented itself to the minds of many other pilgrims from his time up to the present day.

Another good description of the Holy Land, and of Jerusalem, was written by Marino Sanuto, a Venetian

of good family, who presented an account of his travels to Pope John XXI in 1321. This work had a great advantage over its predecessors, in that it was accompanied by maps of Palestine, and a plan of Jerusalem, which, though only a sketch, enables us to form an idea of the city, as he saw it, in the early part of the fourteenth century. In this plan, the south wall encloses the whole of the western hill, or Mount Sion, and includes the Cœnaculum, or convent of St. Mary, and the site of the supposed sepulchres of King David and King Solomon.

Not many years after Marino Sanuto, another pilgrim, Ludolph von Suchem, a German, who travelled in the East in 1336–41, wrote an excellent account of the Holy City, where he resided for some time, and saw everything of interest except the Mahomedan buildings. He describes very fully the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the various places connected with it, and then goes on to say, "All these Holy Places are enclosed within this church, and the church is like a palace, prepared for the various needs of pilgrims, and of those who are locked up therein; for pilgrims who visit it are locked up therein from the first hour of one day until the same hour of the coming day, and can inspect everything to their hearts' content. Twice a year—that is to say, from Good Friday to Monday after Easter, and from the eve of the Invention of the Cross till the morrow of the feast, the Christians who dwell there are let into the church for nothing, and locked in, and then one finds shops in the church, where sundry things and victuals are sold, even as in this country they do in markets and fairs, and there one hears talk and song in diverse tongues.

"Near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre once dwelt the brethren of St. John of Jerusalem, and their palace is now the common hospice for pilgrims. This

hospice is so great that one thousand men can easily live therein, and can have everything that they want there by paying for it. It is the custom in this palace, or hospice, that every pilgrim should pay two Venetian pennies for the use of the hospice. If he sojourns therein for a year he pays no more; if he abides but for one day he pays no less."

Ludolph, of course, visited Mount Sion, and regarding it he says: "Upon this Mount Sion there once was built an exceeding fair monastery, called the convent of St. Mary on Mount Sion, wherein were canons regular. Within this monastery were enclosed all the following Holy Places. First of all, in this place, Christ supped with His disciples, and celebrated the first Easter, made His testament and revealed His betrayer, while the beloved disciple lay upon His breast, and drank in the secrets of heaven. Also, in this place, Christ humbly washed His disciples' feet, and dried them with a napkin, and though He was their Lord and Master, gave them an example of humility. Christ also frequently visited this place while in the flesh, and it was here that, after His death and Resurrection, He appeared to His disciples as they sat with closed doors, and was seen there once again; there Thomas, the unbelieving, thrust his fingers into His side. Here also the Blessed Mary and the disciples were sitting grieving, with the doors closed for fear of the Jews, when they received the Holy Ghost, the Comforter. Here also, after the Lord's Passion, the Blessed Virgin often dwelt; in this place she rendered up her spirit to her Son, and here all the disciples were miraculously assembled. In this place, also, St. Matthias was wondrously chosen an Apostle. Here also the beloved disciple often celebrated Mass with the Blessed Virgin, and dwelt here with St. Mary and St. Luke until the

Blessed Mary's death. Here also St. Stephen was buried between Nicodemus and Abybos. In this place also David and Solomon and the other kings of Judah are buried, and their sepulchres may be seen at this day. In this monastery there now dwell Minorite [*i. e.* Franciscan] brethren, who in my time were amply furnished with necessaries by Queen Sancea, the wife of King Robert, and there they publicly and devoutly hold Divine Service, except that they are not allowed to preach publicly to the Saracens, and they bury their dead without the knowledge of the officers of the city. These brethren were, in my time, exceeding prosperous men. Foreign merchants, and even Saracens, praised them much, for they did good offices to all men."

The above list of the Holy Places shown at the convent of St. Mary on Sion in 1340 gives an idea of the manner in which the traditional sites in Jerusalem have gradually increased in number; and it may be interesting to give the dates when each of them is first mentioned in the accounts written by Christian pilgrims to the Holy City.

Sites on Mount Sion, shown to Ludolph von Suchem.	Date when first mentioned by one or other of the Christian pilgrims.
The convent of St. Mary on Sion	A.D. 570
The place of the Last Supper	,, 670
The descent of the Holy Ghost	,, ,,
The place where St. Mary died	,, ,,
The place of washing the feet of the Apostles	,, 870
The place Jesus appeared to the disciples after His death	,, 1102
The house of St. John	,, 1106
The sepulchres of David and Solomon	,, 1130
The tombs of Stephen and Nicodemus	,, ,,
The place of the election of St. Matthias	,, 1340

It is rather curious that the traditional site on Sion, which has the longest history, is not referred to by Ludolph von Suchem. This is the House of Caiaphas, which is still shown in the place where the Bordeaux pilgrim saw it in A.D. 330, at the time that the original Church of the Holy Sepulchre was in course of construction. Ludolph was not allowed to visit the Dome of the Rock, as Christians were then rigidly excluded from the Haram enclosure, and his description is based upon what he could see from outside and on what he was told. Concerning it he wrote as follows—

"In Jerusalem stand the Lord's Temple and Solomon's Temple, and they alone take up a great part of the city. The Saracens suffer no Christian to enter this Temple, and if they do enter, they must either die or renounce their faith. This came to pass in my time, for some Greeks got in and trampled upon the Saracens' books. As they refused to renounce their faith, they were cut in two. The Lord's Temple is round, built in the Greek [*i. e.* Byzantine] fashion, very tall and large, roofed with lead, and made of great hewn and polished stones. Upon its pinnacle the Saracens have, after their fashion, placed a crescent moon. This Temple also has a great forecourt, which is not roofed, but well paved and adorned with white marble. Near this Temple, on the right hand, there is an oblong church with a lead roof, which is called Solomon's Temple.

"The Saracens pay the greatest reverence to the Lord's Temple, keeping it exceeding clean both within and without, and all alike entering it unshod. They call it 'the Holy Rock,' not 'the Temple,' and therefore they say to one another, 'Let us go to the Holy Rock.' They do not say, 'Let us go to the Temple.' They call the Temple the Holy Rock

because of a little rock, which stands in the midst of the Temple, fenced about with an iron railing. I have heard it said by Saracen renegades that no Saracen presumes to touch that rock, and that Saracens journey from distant lands devoutly to visit it. Indeed God has deigned to show respect to this rock in diverse ways, and has wrought many miracles thereon, as the Bible bears witness to us both in the Old and New Testaments."

Ludolph then enumerates all the traditions which he was told respecting the Sacred Rock, many of which are believed at the present day.

"First of all, it was upon this rock that Melchisedek, the first priest, offered bread and wine. Also it was upon this rock that Jacob slept and saw God's glory, and a ladder standing upon this rock, whose top reached to heaven, and the angels of God ascending and descending the same. Also it was upon this rock that David saw the angel standing with a bloody sword in his hand, and staying from the slaughter of the people. It was upon this rock that the priests used to lay the burnt sacrifices, which often were consumed by fire from heaven. It was within this rock that Jeremiah the Prophet is believed to have miraculously enclosed the Ark of the Covenant, when the people were removed to Babylon, saying, 'As for that place, it shall be unknown, until the time that God gather His people together again, and receive them unto mercy,' and therein it is believed to have remained even to this day. Upon this rock Christ was presented when a child, and was given into the arms of the Just Simeon, and was received by him. It was upon this rock that Christ disputed with the Jews, when He was a boy of twelve years of age, and His parents had lost Him. From this rock He often taught the people and often preached.

"The Lord's Temple, we read, was built by Solomon on the threshing-floor of Araunah, and, albeit it has been destroyed by many, yet it has always been rebuilt on the same spot, in the same form, and with the same stones. God, moreover, has greatly honoured and glorified this Temple, and greatly loved it. It was from this Temple that Solomon saw smoke going up, and the glory of God abiding over it. In this Temple Joseph's rod flowered. In this Temple the Blessed Virgin Mary was presented, and made her offering after her betrothal. In this Temple Christ was presented, and was set upon its pinnacle, and tempted by the evil spirit. Out of this Temple, also, Christ cast those who bought and sold; He often taught and disputed therein, and wrought many miracles, as is testified by the Gospels. Christ also consecrated this Temple by His glorious presence, and therein He suffered much abuse and much ill-usage at the hands of the Jews. It was from this Temple that St. James the Less, our Lord's brother, was cast down and martyred. Near this Temple, on the left hand thereof, is the ancient Golden Gate, through which, on Palm Sunday, Jesus entered, riding upon an ass. To this gate, on every Palm Sunday, even to this day, a solemn procession of Christians is made before sunrise, and over this gate boys sing *Gloria, Laus*, etc. Then, the archbishop of the Armenians enters the gate on an ass, and is welcomed by the boys and the people, even as Christ was there welcomed by the Jews."

Some of these traditions are, of course, absolutely baseless, as for example, that the Dome of the Rock was built on the same plan as that of the Temple of the Jews, and that the Golden Gate was in existence in the time of our Lord; but the extract is interesting as showing the manner in which traditions gradually accumulated in connection with the Sacred Rock, just

as they did round the Holy Sepulchre and the church of St. Mary on Mount Sion. The statement that, in the early part of the fourteenth century, the Mahomedans allowed the Christians to enter the Golden Gate on Palm Sunday, is remarkable, and it is to be regretted that it is not explained why it was that the Armenian archbishop, and not the Greek patriarch, was given the right of admission.

Ludolph visited the church of St. Anne, which was then used as a mosque, and the churches on the Mount of Olives. Regarding the church where the Virgin Mary was supposed to be buried, he makes the statement that "the place where this church stands was, at the time of Christ's Passion, the house of Annas the Chief Priest, and it was there that Peter denied Christ." Later pilgrims describe the house of Annas as being on Sion, and the place of the denial of Peter is also generally placed there. This is another instance of the manner in which Holy Places in Jerusalem were moved from one part of the city to another so as to suit the convenience of pilgrims.

After leaving Jerusalem, Ludolph von Suchem visited Jericho, the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and then, after travelling northwards through the country to Damascus, embarked for Europe at Beirut. He seems to have had no difficulty in going wherever he liked. At one place near the Dead Sea he mentions the interesting fact that "here, in my time, there were Templars, who had been made prisoners at the fall of Acre, who sawed wood here and there in the mountains for the sultan's service, and did not know that the Order of the Templars had been suppressed; for they worked here and there in the mountains, and had seen no man from this side of the sea [*i. e.* from Europe] since they had been taken prisoners." These knights must, therefore, have been in captivity for

more than forty years. Not long after Ludolph's visit, a petition was sent to the Egyptian sultan, asking for their release, and they were allowed to return home with their wives and families. To them it must have been like a resurrection from the dead.

The dynasty of the Abbaside Khalifs came finally to an end in 1258, when Hulagu and the Mongols captured Bagdad, and killed Mustassem, who then held the title of Khalif. Three years later, the Sultan Beybars of Egypt, thinking that the possession of a Khalif would add to his authority, found a scion of the Abbaside family and brought him to Cairo. From this time forward there was a Khalif in Egypt until that country was conquered by the Turks in 1517, but the possessor of the title had no power, and was only a kind of spiritual adviser to the sultan. At the time of the Turkish conquest of Egypt the Khalif was carried off to Constantinople as part of the spoil. A few years later, Sultan Suleiman made Mutawakkil surrender his title of Khalif to him, and, since that time, the Turkish sultans have claimed to be Khalifs of Islam. They have, however, no real right to the title, as, according to the constitution of the office, a Khalif should be a member of the tribe of Koreish of Arabia, and should be appointed by election. It is natural, therefore, that some Mahomedans, more especially those who are not subjects of the Ottoman Empire, do not acknowledge the Sultan as Khalif.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Jerusalem enjoyed a comparatively peaceful existence under the rule of the Bahry Memluk sultans of Egypt, and of their successors, the Circassian Memluks, the first of whom, Sultan ez Zaher Barkuk, captured the supreme authority in 1382. On the whole, Christians and Mahomedan lived peaceably together, but there were occasional outbreaks of violence, as, for example,

in 1368, when the convent of St. Mary on Sion was attacked and twelve of the monks were slain. There was another attack on the convent a few years later, and part of the buildings was destroyed, while that portion of them which was supposed to contain the sepulchres of David and Solomon, was taken away from the Franciscan brethren and handed over to the Moslems.

There is, however, no record of any damage having been done to the other Christian buildings in Jerusalem, and pilgrims continued to be admitted to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as before, on payment of a fee to the guardians. A change was made as regards the time of admission, and, whereas in the year when Ludolph von Suchem visited Jerusalem, the pilgrims were admitted in the morning, and locked up in the church until the following morning, later on it was arranged that they should be admitted in the evening, and released the following morning. Possibly this change was made for the convenience of pilgrims, who may have found twenty-four hours in the church longer than was necessary. The fee charged for admission was five ducats per head, except at Easter, and at the feast of the Invention of the Cross, when admission was free.

There are several accounts, written by pilgrims who visited the Holy Land during the fifteenth century, and of these, one of the most interesting is by Felix Fabri, a Dominican Father of the city of Ulm in Würtemberg, who first went to Palestine in 1480, when he remained a few days in Jerusalem, and made a preliminary survey of the Holy Places. Dissatisfied with his short visit, he proceeded again to the Holy Land in 1483, when he stopped for six weeks with the Franciscan brethren in the convent on Mount Sion, and thoroughly examined every place of note in Jerusalem and the vicinity.

A full translation of the *Wanderings of Felix Fabri* is given in vols. vii–x of the publications of the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts Society, and this is deserving of careful study by everybody who wishes fully to understand what Jerusalem was like four hundred years ago. As, however, that portion of the work which deals with Jerusalem occupies no less than 1,033 pages, it is, of course, impossible to give anything but a very brief résumé of his account in this little book.

At the time of his visit, the buildings of the monastery of St. Mary on Sion had been reduced to insignificant proportions, and Felix Fabri found "the precincts of the convent very cramped, the church small, the cloister narrow, the cells little. Yet, albeit the house is small, twenty-four brethren dwell together therein, serving the Lord in a life spent under rule. Because of the insult and rage of the infidels, they have an iron door, and, beside the same, fierce dogs savage with strangers, who keep watch, and by their barking betray those who come hither to do any mischief, whether by day or by night."

Of the great church of St. Mary on Sion there was nothing left but ruins, of which Fabri says, "Here once stood an exceeding great church, whereof there is nothing left save the part which once joined that great church on the right-hand side, which part, at the present day, is the choir and church of the brethren; the head of the choir also remains, with the east window, and with its half-broken vault which threatens to fall in. On the inside of the church there is a way up some stairs, from the place where the Holy Spirit was sent down, to the top of that piece of broken vault. I went up these stairs, and found above the broken vault a pavement of polished marble of diverse colours, wherefore I suppose that once there was another church up above, on the top of the church

and choir. Thus the great church of Sion must have had three consecrated storeys—that is to say, the crypt beneath the earth, the church built upon the earth and another decorated chamber above the church. In the old choir the high altar still stands, but it is a ruin."

Of the great ruined church, so described by Felix Fabri, it is impossible now to trace the plan, as the remains are hidden under the comparatively modern Moslem building, known as the Cœnaculum, or Tomb of David. The destruction of the church was, as has already been mentioned, due to the fact that the cave, supposed to be the sepulchre of David, was in the hill under it, while, over this, was the chapel shown to pilgrims as the place of the Last Supper. Respecting the latter Fabri says: "The brethren of Mount Sion once counted this place among those belonging to the convent, and indeed it is a part of the church of Sion, for it is within the same walls, at the head of the choir. The Sultan took this place away from the brethren for the following reasons. The Jews have many times begged the Sultan to give them that place, that they may make an oratory of it, and they beg it of him even to this day; while the Christians have always refused it to them. So, at last, the Sultan inquired wherefore this place was holy. When he was told that David, and the other kings of Jerusalem of his seed were buried there, he said, 'We Saracens also count David holy, even as the Christians and the Jews do, and we believe the Bible even as they do. Wherefore neither the Christians nor the Jews shall have that place, but we will take it for ourselves.' He thereupon came to Jerusalem and blocked up the door by which one entered that chapel from inside the monastery, desecrated the chapel, turned out Christ's altars, broke the carved images, blotted out the paintings and fitted it for the worship of Mahomed; making a door on the

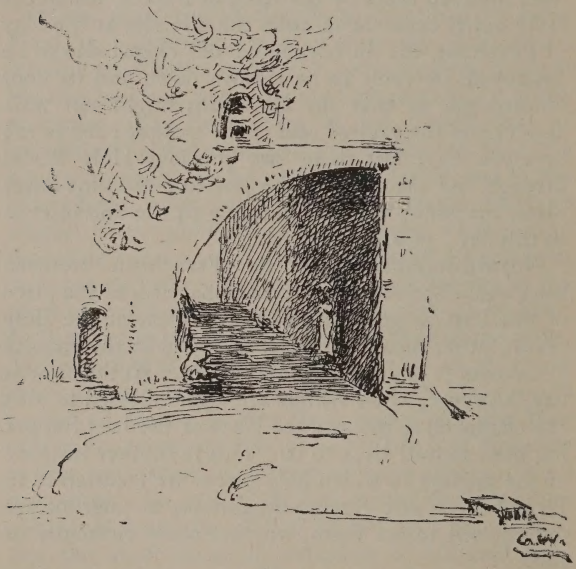
outside, by which the Saracens could enter it when they pleased. And because the place above it over the vaulted roof of the chapel belonged to the Christians and to the brethren, and a great and costly chapel had been founded there by the King of France, where the Holy Spirit came down upon the disciples at the Day of Pentecost, the Sultan caused this chapel also to be destroyed, its vault to be thrown down and its door blocked up, so that the Christians might not walk about upon the vaulted roof of the mosque; and so the brethren have lost these two precious Holy Places through the eagerness of the Jew to possess the lower place, for which they are pleading to the Sultan even to this day" (*i. e.* A.D. 1483).

Notwithstanding that the Franciscan brethren were thus deprived of the traditional sites of the place of the Last Supper, and of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, other sites for these were found in the vicinity and shown to pilgrims as the true ones. At the present day, however, when visitors are again allowed to visit the chapel on sufferance, the Place of the Last Supper has been moved back to it. This is another instance of the manner in which holy places are transferred in Jerusalem to suit varying conditions, as pilgrims are determined to see them, whether really authentic or not.

After carefully inspecting all the Holy Places on Sion, Fabri was taken to the house of Caiaphas, and to the house of Annas, which was shown at the convent of the Olive Tree, not far from where the Sion Gate now stands, and then to the monastery of St. James and the Tower of David. All this part of Jerusalem appears to have been at that time in ruins with the exception of the convents.

Another day he was conducted by the brethren to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and waited in the

courtyard until sunset, when the doors were opened by the guardians for the admission of pilgrims. His description gives a graphic account of the arrangements made on these occasions.



IN COURTYARD OF THE CONVENT OF ST. JAMES

"We came down to the courtyard of the church, wherein we found a great, disorderly crowd of Eastern Christians and Saracens, men, women and children. Also dealers in precious wares sat there and sold them, and some had loaves of bread, eggs and grapes for sale, whereof we bought some and put them in our scrips for the repast which we should take within the church. Now as soon as all the Saracen lords, who had to do

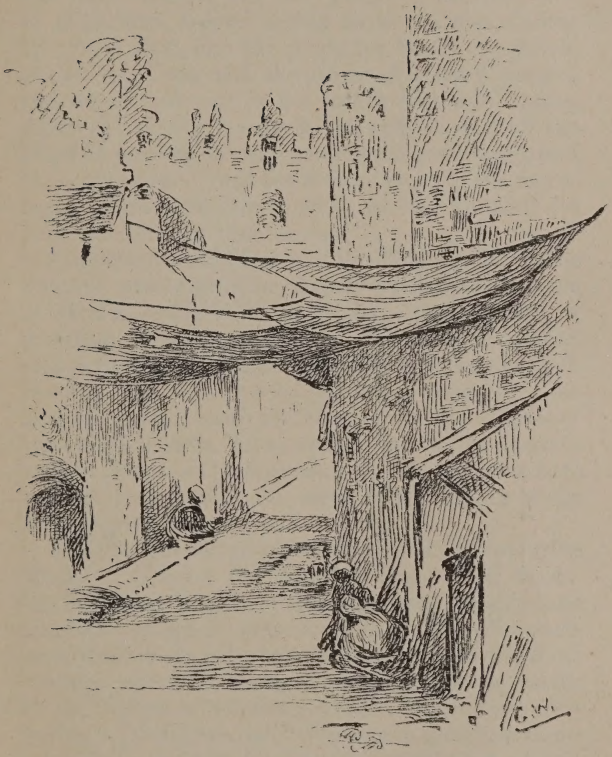
with the opening of the church, were present at that door of that holy temple, they took their places gravely and seriously. Before the door on either side thereof great stones of polished marble have been placed for benches, upon which these men sat with their faces turned away. They were men of a fine presence, well stricken in years, handsome, wearing long beards and of solemn manners, dressed in linen clothes and with their heads wrapped round and round with countless folds of very fine linen. When all of us were collected before those doors, they opened the church doors with their keys, and, standing beside them, let us in two by two, counting us even as they did when we came out of our ship on to the land, and they looked at us very keenly. It is said of them that they are greatly skilled in the art of physiognomy, and that as soon as they looked upon any man they perceive his station in life, his disposition and his desires."

The rules regarding the admission of pilgrims to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, have been much relaxed of late years, and they are admitted at certain hours during the daytime without fees. The guardians of the church, or Saracen lords, as Fabri calls them, now sit on a stone bench on the left hand, inside the church door, from whence they can supervise the actions of visitors and see that good order is preserved, and that there are no unseemly contentions between Christians of different churches. The stone bench upon which the guardians used to sit in front of the church door, as recorded by Fabri, was removed in 1867, and thus exposed to view an interesting stone memorial tablet in the pavement, recording the death of Philip d'Aubigné, an English knight, who was tutor to King Henry III of England, and who accompanied the Emperor Frederick to Jerusalem, where he died in 1236.

Having passed the inspection by the guardians, and, entering the church, Fabri and his companons were taken, first, to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, north of the Sepulchre, and, having lit their tapers there, were conducted in solemn procession round the Holy Places by the Father Guardian, who was responsible for the behaviour of all pilgrims of the Latin Church. The route followed was exactly the same as that by which the Franciscan fathers take pilgrims round at the present day, and the account given by Fabri shows how little has changed since his time. One of the most important changes is that, whereas he was shown the monuments of the kings of Jerusalem, commencing with Godfrey of Bouillon, these have now all disappeared.

The course of the procession ended at the Holy Sepulchre itself, into which the pilgrims entered one after another, and were then left to their own devices for the rest of the night. Fabri went round all the Holy Places a second time by himself, so as to examine them thoroughly, and then "went down to the place of the Invention of the Cross and there read my Matins. I took great delight in that underground place, because it was quiet and suited to me, for the Mount Calvary, and the Lord's Sepulchre and the other places up above were filled with an unbroken throng of pilgrims and very noisy. Meanwhile, some of my lords and their servants were running to and fro in the church, hunting in every corner seeking for me to hear their confessions, and never guessed me to be in that place. At last they came down to where I was, and I heard them there, sitting in the chair of St. Helena."

So they passed the night and "at sunrise the sacristan ran round the whole church with his wooden board [used instead of a bell], and gave the signal for



TARIK BAB EL AMUD

the celebration of High Mass, at prime and at tierce, on the Mount Calvary. So we all went up into the Holy Mount, and the Father Guardian with his attendants, dressed in their sacred vestments, came up to the altar, and the precentor began the service of the Holy Cross with the prayer, *Nos autem gloriari*, and we all took part in the service with loud voices. After the service my lords, the knights, and all the pilgrims received the sacrament with great piety, and the service lasted until the hour of eight in the morning. At the very instant when we had finished, the Saracens came to turn us out."

After leaving the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the pilgrims were shown the chapels which open into the courtyard, and the chapel of the Greek convent of Abraham, close to which was an ancient olive tree, said to have been planted on the spot where Abraham saw the ram caught by its horns in a thicket. Then they were taken across the Muristan by the remains of the Hospital of St. John, and so back to the convent of Sion for rest and refreshment, which they must have needed, after passing the night in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Fabri was, of course, unable to visit the Dome of the Rock, or to enter the Haram enclosure, but he examined them as well as he could from outside, and carefully studied the great south wall. Near the south-east corner he found a hole in the wall, now closed up, through which he managed to climb into the vaults of the Stables of Solomon, rather a hazardous undertaking. Of this he says : " We were in great fear there for had the Saracens found us they would indeed have treated us ill. Had we not been afraid we might have climbed up over the rubbish into the courtyard of the Temple." Admission to the church of St. Anne was also forbidden to visitors, as it was used as a

mosque, but Felix Fabri was an indefatigable explorer, and he managed to get an arrangement made by the dragoman who looked after the pilgrims, by which he was allowed to descend into the cave under the church, which was supposed to be the birthplace of the Virgin Mary, and the sepulchre of St. Anne. In front of the church was an old tree, said to have been planted by the Virgin when she was a little child.

Fabri makes no mention of the gate of the city opening into the Valley of the Kedron near the church of St. Anne, and at the time of his visit there were only four gates in use. These were : on the west, the Gate of David, or of the Merchants (now the Jaffa Gate) ; on the north the Gate of Ephraim, or of St. Stephen (now the Damascus Gate); and on the south, the Dung Gate (still existing), and the Fountain Gate, which was in the south wall, supposed to have been built by the Egyptians when they remodelled the fortifications in 1245. This wall and the Fountain Gate, mentioned by Fabri, are no longer in existence, but the latter has been replaced by the present Sion Gate. The other gates of Jerusalem had been shut up by the Egyptians so as to make it easier to watch our people entering and leaving the city. Fabri concludes his observations concerning the gates with the following words : " Along the circuit of the walls and battlements there once were towers, whose ruins we can trace ; but the Saracens have cast them down, and have built other towers [*i. e.* minarets] within the city, near the mosques, for use in their ritual. For they do not trouble themselves about the fortifications of cities, but watch exceeding narrowly over the entrances into the country."

During the thirteenth century the Turks were steadily extending their power in Asia Minor, and, in 1299, Othman, son of Et-Toghrul, invaded the

territory of the Greeks, and established himself in northern Phrygia. His son Orkhan captured the city of Brusa, near Mudania on the Sea of Marmora in 1326, and made it the capital of what was to become the Turkish Empire, while his successors crossed the Hellespont and invaded Europe. In 1453 Sultan Mahomed II, surnamed the Conqueror, besieged Constantinople and captured it after a severe struggle, when Constantine Paleologus, the emperor, was slain, and the Greek Empire ceased to exist. Then the power of the Turks increased both in Europe and in Asia, country after country being conquered. Sultan Selim, the grandson of Mahomed, sent an army into Syria in 1516, which, after utterly defeating the Egyptians near Aleppo, advanced southwards through Palestine into Egypt and captured Cairo, where Tuman Bey, the last of the Memluk sultans, was defeated and slain, and Egypt, Palestine and Syria became provinces of the Turkish Empire. No attempt was made to defend Jerusalem, and the change of masters appears to have been carried out without damage to the city or harm to the inhabitants.

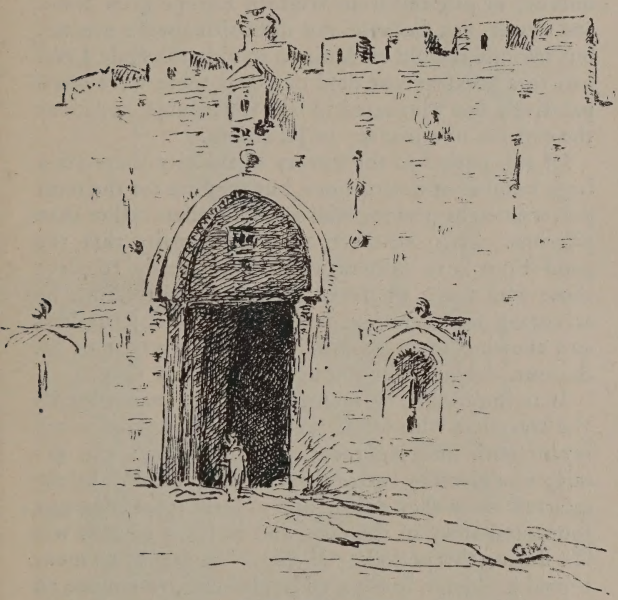
During the three centuries that had passed since the walls of Jerusalem had been rebuilt by the Egyptian sultan, es Salih Ayub, in 1247, little appears to have been done to maintain the fortifications in a state of efficiency, and, after the Turkish conquest, it was decided to rebuild them completely. The work was carried out in 1542, during the reign of Sultan Suleiman, surnamed the Magnificent, and the walls, then built, are those that enclose Jerusalem at the present day.

In the Turkish reconstruction of the fortifications, the walls on the west and north of the city followed the old lines, and the Jaffa and Damascus Gates were rebuilt. The east wall was also rebuilt on the old line,

but the Gate of St. Mary, near the church of St. Anne, which had been closed when Felix Fabri visited Jerusalem, was reopened, while the Golden Gate was blocked up with masonry. This was probably done for reasons of defence, as the gate was a weak point in the east wall of the Haram enclosure. The whole of the east wall was thoroughly repaired, and it was no doubt at this time, that the hole at the south-east angle, by which Fabri had climbed into the Stables of Solomon, was closed. The greatest change made was with regard to the south wall, which was rebuilt on the line of wall that had existed prior to the capture of the city by Saladin, and a new gate was built at the end of the street, leading southwards from the citadel to the convent of St. Mary on Sion, which was thus left outside the new wall.

The construction of this new south wall, and new gate, now known as the Sion Gate or Gate of the Prophet David, led to the expulsion of the Franciscan brethren from their monastery by an order of Sultan Suleiman in 1551. This order was regarded as a great grievance by the Franciscans, but it was quite reasonable, as it would have been undesirable to have had a Christian building just outside the wall, and in front of a main gate. Indeed it is rather surprising that the Turkish engineer, who constructed the wall, did not remove the building altogether ; but it was probably left standing as it was supposed to be over the sepulchres of David and Solomon, a place sacred to the Mahomedans. So far as the Franciscans themselves were concerned, the order of removal was really an advantage, as they were given, as a place of residence, the Georgian convent of St. Saviour, which was in an excellent position, close to the Holy Sepulchre, with which their duties were principally connected. Had they remained in the convent of Sion after the south wall was built, they

would have been in a dangerous place, and, when the Sion gate was shut, unable to obtain assistance in case of attack by the Mahomedans. Since their removal the Franciscans have always lived in the convent of



THE SION GATE

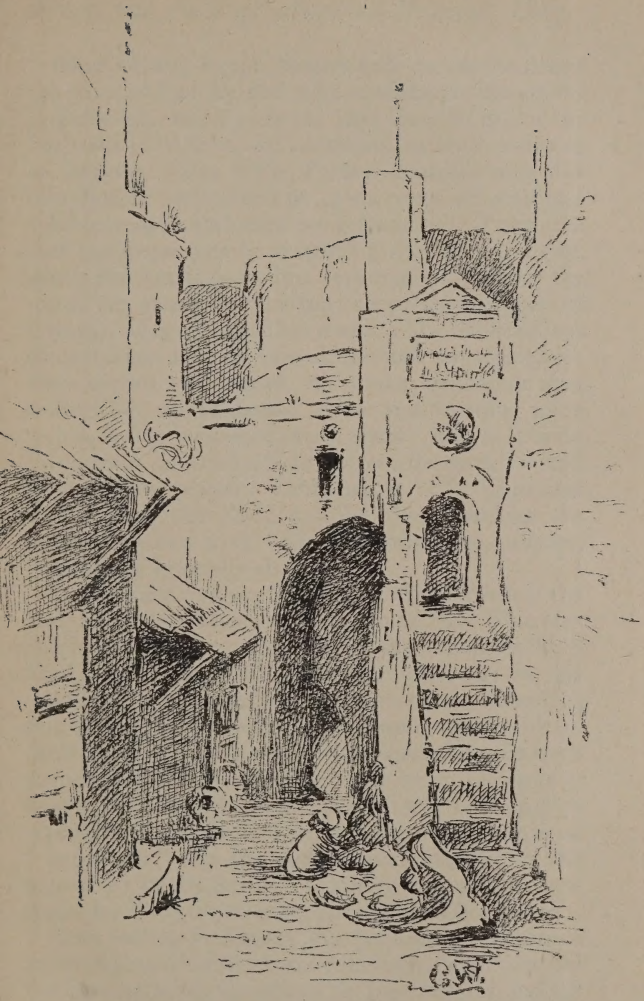
St. Saviour, and their Superior still has the title of Guardian of Sion, as well as that of Custodian of the Holy Land. Although not a bishop, he has a right to use the episcopal insignia.

For three centuries after the occupation of Jerusalem by the Turks the city lived in peace and had no political

history; but it gradually diminished in importance, the population decreased, and parts of the town fell into ruin. Pilgrimages to the Holy Places were allowed under regulations similar to those that had been in force during the period of Egyptian rule, but the number of pilgrims from Western Europe grew fewer and fewer, not because the difficulties were greater, but because the old enthusiasm to visit the Holy Land had to a great extent died out, and there were comparatively few who cared to take the trouble, and incur the expense of a journey to Jerusalem.

Of this period in the history of the city there are a large number of descriptions, but they are for the most part written by persons, who were travellers rather than pilgrims. It is, however, very noteworthy that the good Franciscan fathers were always ready to assist those who came, whatever their nationality, both by arranging for their journey from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and showing them hospitality in the convent of St. Saviour, during their sojourn in the Holy City.

It is impossible to mention even the names of all the travellers who wrote accounts of Palestine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the descriptions given by two or three of them must be briefly referred to, as they enable one to form something of a connected story of the city, and to learn what it was like during this period. Of these, the first to be mentioned is George Sandys, an Englishman, who made an extensive tour in the East in 1610–11, visiting Turkey, Greece, Egypt and Palestine, and who stayed for some time in the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem. His work is illustrated by some quaint woodcuts, copied from sketches made some years previously by a Fleming, Johan Zuallart, which, though much out of drawing, give an interesting idea of the buildings of Jerusalem at the beginning of the seventeenth century.



GERMAN HOSPICE OF ST. JOHN

After visiting Egypt, Sandys rode across the desert to Gaza and Ramleh, and then, crossing the mountains to Jerusalem, was met at the Jaffa Gate by two of the Franciscan brethren, and conducted to the convent of St. Saviour, where "The Father Guardian with due compliment entertained us: a reverend old man of a voluble tongue and winning behaviour." From the roof of the convent he obtained a view over the city, which did not impress him favourably. "From the top of this monastery you may survey the most part of this city, whereof much lies waste. The old buildings (except some few) all ruined, the new contemptible; none exceed two stories, the under no better than vaults; the upper arched above and standing upon arches, being well confirmed against fire, as having throughout no combustible matter; the roofs flat and covered with plaster. Inhabited it is by Christians out of their devotion; and by the Turks for the benefit received from Christians, otherwise, perhaps, it would be generally abandoned."

Sandys' first visit was, of course, to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where he was taken on Holy Thursday and lodged in the convent of the Franciscan brethren until Easter Day. He found the buildings in fair condition, except the bell tower, which was somewhat ruined and had no bells, as these were insufferable to the Mahomedans. He carefully inspected the different chapels and holy places, which were much the same as shown at the present day, and, having attended at the ceremony of the Holy Fire, which he regarded as an "impostury," left the church and returned to the monastery of St. Saviour, "having lain on the hard stones for three nights together and fared as hardly."

After visiting Bethlehem and Ain Karim he returned to Jerusalem, where he found some of the churches and the Hospital of the Knights of St. John in ruins, and the

church of St. Anne used as a mosque. Jericho he was unable to see, as Christians were only allowed to go there once a year with the pilgrims' caravan, which started from Jerusalem on Easter Monday; and, for the same reason, he missed seeing the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and could only give an account of them from hearsay. Having seen all he could at Jerusalem, Sandys hired some mules and travelled by land to Acre, where he found the English merchants had all the trade in their hands, and were greatly respected by the Mahomedans. Then, after making expeditions to Nazareth, Tyre and Sidon, he took ship at Acre and sailed for Cyprus.

Early in 1696 the Rev. Henry Maundrell, British Chaplain at Aleppo, made up a party, with fourteen other gentlemen, to visit Jerusalem. They took the coast road by Tripoli and Beirut to Acre, and thence by Samaria and Nablus, arriving in the Holy City in time for the Easter ceremonies. After paying his fee of fourteen dollars, Maundrell was locked up for three days in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but he appeared to have enjoyed the imprisonment more than Sandys, as he says: "The pilgrims being all admitted this day, the church doors were locked in the evening, and opened no more till Easter Day; by which we were kept in a close but very happy confinement for three days. We spent out time in viewing the ceremonies practised by the Latins at this festival, and in visiting the several Holy Places; all which we had opportunity to survey, with as much freedom and deliberation as we pleased."

As the following Sunday was the Greek Easter, Maundrell had an opportunity of seeing the ceremony of the Holy Fire, which impressed him very unfavourably, and which he regarded as a fraud. After describing the proceedings, he concludes by saying:

" It must be owned, however, that the two within the Sepulchre performed their part with great quickness and dexterity, but the behaviour of the rabble without very much discredited the miracle. The Latins take a great deal of pains to expose this ceremony, as a most shameful imposture, and a scandal to the Christian religion; perhaps out of envy that others should be masters of so gainful a business. But the Greeks and Armenians pin their faith upon it and make their pilgrimages chiefly upon this motive; and it is the deplorable unhappiness of their priests, that, having acted the cheat so long already, they are forced now to stand to it for fear of endangering the apostasy of their people."

Maundrell visited all the usual sights, but his account adds but little to our knowledge of the city, which appeared to be in much the same condition as when visited by George Sandys eighty-six years previously. The only changes seemed to be that Herod's Gate in the north wall had been reopened, and the church of St. Anne, which had formerly been used as a mosque, was " desolate and neglected."

Another intelligent British traveller, Doctor Richard Pococke, F.R.S., visited Jerusalem in 1737. Landing at Jaffa, he took the usual road to the Holy City, where he was received and well cared for at the Franciscan convent of St. Saviour. He visited all the Holy Places, but was apparently doubtful as regards the authenticity of the traditional sites, as he concludes his chapter on Jerusalem with the words: " There remains an observation with regard to what is to be seen in and about Jerusalem; that, as there are few signs of any ancient buildings, it is natural that there should be but little account of anything except grottoes, pools and cisterns, which could not easily be destroyed; and we are not to expect great remains of that city, of

which it was foretold, whether literally or not, that the destruction or desolation was to be such as never yet happened; and that of the most famous building in it there should not be one stone left upon another."

Pococke mentions one point of especial interest, namely that the water from the Virgin's Fountain on Ophel appeared to flow into the Pool of Siloam, and he seems to have been the first traveller to recognize the existence of the famous Siloam tunnel, respecting which so much has been written in recent years. But he made no attempt to investigate the course of the channel through which the water flowed.

The next author whose description of Jerusalem will be referred to is the well-known French writer, F. R. de Chateaubriand, whose account is of particular interest; first, because he had prepared himself for the journey by reading every book on Palestine and Jerusalem he could find, from the earliest times up to his own day; and secondly, because he visited the city in 1806, only ten years before the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed by fire, so that he was one of the last travellers to see it in its mediæval condition.

Landing at Jaffa in October 1806, Chateaubriand was hospitably received by the Franciscan brethren, and taken by them to Jerusalem, which he "entered by the Pilgrims' Gate [*i. e.* the Jaffa Gate] near which stands the Tower of David, better known by the appellation of the Pisans' Tower—we paid the tribute and followed the street that opened before us; then, turning to the left between a kind of prisons of plaster, called houses, we arrived at the convent of the Latin fathers."

Chateaubriand found Jerusalem in a miserable condition, as it had been steadily deteriorating during the eighteenth century. "Enter the city and you will

find nothing to make amends for the dullness of the exterior. You lose yourself among narrow, unpaved streets, here going uphill, there down, and you walk among clouds of dust or loose stones. Canvas stretched from house to house increases the gloom of this labyrinth; bazaars roofed over and fraught with infection completely exclude the light from this desolate city. A few paltry shops expose nothing but wretchedness to view, and even these are frequently shut from apprehension of the passage of the Kadi. Not a creature is to be seen in the streets, not a creature at the gates, except now and then a peasant gliding through the gloom, concealing under his garments the fruits of his labour lest he should be robbed of his hard earnings by a rapacious soldier. The only noise heard from time to time in this desolate city is the galloping of the steed of the desert. It is the janissary who brings the head of the bedouin, or returns from plundering the unhappy fellah."

In 1808 the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was completely destroyed, and Chateaubriand heard of the catastrophe before he had completed the account of his travels. He therefore decided to give a full description of the building for two reasons: "First, because nobody now reads the ancient pilgrimages to Jerusalem; secondly, because the Church of the Holy Sepulchre no longer exists; it was totally destroyed by fire since my return from Judæa. I am, I may say, the last traveller by whom it was visited, and for the same reason I shall be its last historian."

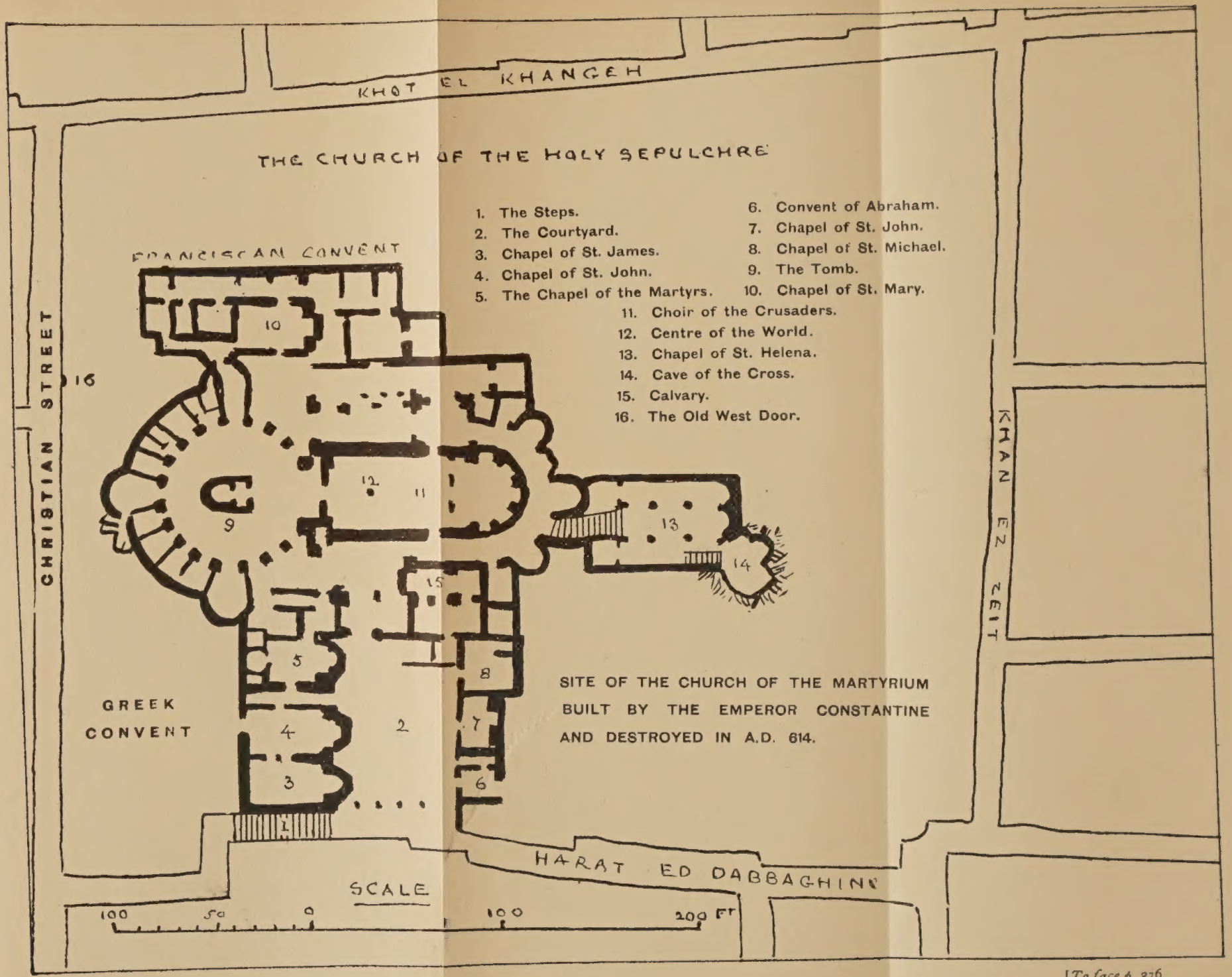
He then proceeds to give an accurate account of all the buildings, which is very interesting, but which is too long to quote in full. Of the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre he says: "The chapel of the Holy Sepulchre constitutes the nave of the edifice. It is circular, like the Pantheon at Rome, and is lighted only by a

dome, beneath which is the Sepulchre. Sixteen marble columns adorn the circumference of this rotunda; they are connected by seventeen arches and support an upper gallery, likewise composed of sixteen columns, and seventeen arches of smaller dimensions than those of the lower range. Niches corresponding with the arches appear above the frieze of the second gallery, and the dome springs from the arch of these niches. The latter were formerly decorated with mosiacs, representing the twelve apostles, St. Helena, the Emperor Constantine, and other three portraits unknown.

"The small structure of marble which covers the Holy Sepulchre is in the figure of a canopy, adorned with semi-Gothic arches. It rises with elegance under the dome by which it receives light, but is spoiled by a massive chapel which the Armenians have obtained permission to erect at one end of it. The interior of this canopy presents to the view a very plain tomb of white marble, which adjoins on one side to the wall of the monument, and serves the Catholic religion for an altar. This is the Tomb of Jesus Christ.

"I did not leave the sacred structure without stopping at the monuments of Godfrey and Baldwin. They face the entrance of the church and stand against the wall of the choir. I saluted the ashes of those royal chevaliers who were worthy of reposing near the tomb which they had rescued."

The great fire of 1808, which is said to have originated in the Armenian chapel, practically gutted the building, little being left but the walls. The dome fell in and ruined the marble canopy over the Tomb, the marble columns were destroyed, while the choir was greatly damaged. The Greek patriarch obtained leave from the Sultan to rebuild the church, but unfortunately the restoration was carried out in an unsatisfactory manner, and the appearance of the


KHOT EL KHANGEH
THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE
1. The Steps.
2. The Courtyard.
3. Chapel of St. James.
4. Chapel of St. John.
5. The Chapel of the Martyrs.
6. Convent of Abraham.
7. Chapel of St. John.
8. Chapel of St. Michael.
9. The Tomb.
10. Chapel of St. Mary.
11. Choir of the Crusaders.
12. Centre of the World.
13. Chapel of St. Helena.
14. Cave of the Cross.
15. Calvary.
16. The Old West Door.
FRANCISCAN CONVENT
CHRISTIAN STREET
KHAN EZ ZEIT
GREEK CONVENT
SITE OF THE CHURCH OF THE MARTYRIUM BUILT BY THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE AND DESTROYED IN A.D. 614.
HARAT ED DABBAGHIN
SCALE
100 50 0 100 200 FT

[*To face p.* 276

interior of the building was greatly altered. The beautiful marble columns which supported the dome were replaced by the present rectangular masonry piers, and the tasteless chapel over the Holy Sepulchre was substituted for the graceful marble canopy. The choir was also badly restored, and walls were built on the sides and round the chevet, in place of the clustered columns, thus making the side aisles and ambulatory very dark. The tombs of Kings Godfrey and Baldwin, which had been damaged by the fall of the roof, were removed altogether, and the last memorials of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem disappeared. Fortunately the exterior of the south front and the chapel of St. Helena were not much injured, and these remain as they were before the fire.

Chateaubriand describes the harsh manner in which the Pasha of Damascus treated the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and his extortions led to a revolt in 1825, but this was suppressed without much difficulty. In 1831 Mahomed Ali, the Turkish governor of Egypt, made himself independent of Constantinople, and took possession of Palestine, so that Jerusalem came once more under the rule of Egypt. The inhabitants, however, received no benefit from the change, as the Egyptian government proved as oppressive as the Turkish, and, in 1834, the peasants revolted and succeeded in capturing the city. It is said that they managed to get inside the walls by creeping up a drain which runs down the central valley to Siloam, and thus eluded the guards at the gates. This little attempt at revolution passed off without much bloodshed, and Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mahomed Ali, reoccupied Jerusalem, which continued to be held by Egypt until 1841, when Palestine and Syria were restored to Turkey, and since that time have remained as part of the Ottoman Empire.

During the period of Egyptian occupation Jerusalem was visited by an American traveller who may be regarded as the first of the scientific explorers of the Holy Land. This was the Rev. Edward Robinson, Professor of Biblical Literature at the Union Theological Seminary of New York, who decided, before taking up his duties, to make a thorough personal examination of Palestine, as he considered that, before teaching others, he should himself be acquainted with the country of the Bible. He spent the winter of 1857 in Egypt, and in the following spring rode across the Sinaitic desert to Beersheba, and then, taking the route by Hebron, reached Jerusalem in April 1838. He found the city in a much better condition than when visited by Chateaubriand thirty years before, and noticed that, for an Eastern city, it was unusually clean. But the population was small, not more than 11,000 in all, distributed approximately in the following proportion—

Mahomedans . . .	4,500
Christians . . .	3,500
Jews	3,000
Total . .	11,000

Dr. Robinson seems to have cared but little for the traditional Christian sites, but devoted much attention to the question of the topography of the ancient city, and his observations on the subject are well worthy of study. As, however, he only saw what was on the surface, and did not attempt anything in the way of underground exploration, some of the conclusions which he arrived at are not tenable in the light of present knowledge. He visited Jerusalem a second time in 1852, and made further observations on the topography of the city.

In 1851 the Holy Places became the subject of political discussion between the European nations, and a dispute regarding them led to the Crimean war of 1854–6, which was due to the rivalry, so often alluded to in the preceding pages, between the Greek and the Latin Churches. The origin of this dispute may be traced to a treaty made between Louis XV, King of France, and the Sultan of Turkey in 1760, by which certain special privileges as regards the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem were guaranteed to Latin Christians. A few years later, at the request of the emperor of Russia, who wished to be considered the protector of the Greek Church, privileges were given by the Sultan to the Greek Christians in Palestine, which clashed with the articles of the treaty with France. In consequence of these treaties there were frequent disputes as to the respective rights of the two Churches, and the fact that, after the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1808, the permission to rebuild it was given to the Greeks, naturally greatly annoyed the Latins, who considered that they had been deprived of rights which had been secured to them by treaty. After the reoccupation of Jerusalem by the Turks in 1841, matters gradually became worse, and in 1850 the Russian ambassador on behalf of the Greeks, and the French ambassador on behalf of the Latins, made strong representations to the Porte to settle the question.

After much discussion, in February 1852, the Turkish government issued two decrees, by one of which the rights of the Latin Church were acknowledged, while the other guaranteed the privileges of the Greek Church with regard to the Holy Places. This, of course, satisfied neither party, and the French ambassador succeeded in obtaining another decree,

declaring that neither Church had a exclusive right to the Holy Places, but that the Latins were to have the custody of the key of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. This infuriated the Greeks, and the Russian ambassador obtained the consent of the Turkish government to have the firman read, acknowledging the rights of the Greek Church.

But the Russian government was not satisfied, and, early in 1853, two army corps were ordered to the frontier, while Count Menschikoff was sent to Constantinople to claim a protectorate for Russia over the Greek Christians in the Turkish Empire. Such a demand was quite inadmissible, as it would have interfered with the sovereign rights of the sultan, who appealed to France and England for protection against Russia. After some negotiations Russia invaded Turkey and declared war, whereupon the British and French fleets entered the Black Sea, and the contest usually known in England as the Crimean war commenced, which ended with the capture of Sebastopol and the destruction of the Russian fleet.

The question of the Holy Places at Jerusalem then rather fell into the background, but a modus vivendi was arranged, by which the different Christian denominations were allowed certain of the sacred sites, while the more important ones, such as the Holy Sepulchre itself, were to be used by all in common. This arrangement is still in force, and the Turkish guardians maintain order and see that one Church does not encroach upon the rights of another. The Turks carry out this duty satisfactorily, and it is no sinecure, as there are occasionally disputes among the Christians which lead to bloodshed, and which would be far more serious were it not for the control maintained by the Turks.

The wooden cupola over the Holy Sepulchre, which had been erected by the Greeks after the great fire, began to fall out of repair about 1850, and the question of its restoration was discussed, but had to be postponed in consequence of the struggle between Russia and Turkey. After the conclusion of the war the matter was again taken up, and, in 1868, an arrangement was made between France, Russia and Turkey, in accordance with which a new cupola, supported on iron frames, was constructed. Whether it will be more lasting than its immediate predecessor remains to be proved, but it cannot be regarded as satisfactory from an architectural point of view, and it does not compare favourably with its rival in Jerusalem, the cupola of the Dome of the Rock.

The contest with regard to the Holy Places, which had led to the Crimean war, naturally drew attention to Jerusalem, and the city seemed to wake up after a sleep of three centuries. Its importance has steadily increased, and the population, which was only 11,000 in 1838, is now believed to be at least 68,000, divided in the following proportions—

Mahomedans . .	8,000
Christians . .	10,000
Jews	50,000
Total . .	68,000

This does not include the floating population of pilgrims, Christian and Mahomedan, of whom many thousands flock to the Holy City at certain periods of the year.

The old town within the walls was too small to accommodate the rapidly increasing number of inhabitants, and a New Jerusalem has sprung into

existence on the hills to the north and west. Prior to 1860 there were only a few houses outside the walls, and the first important buildings erected in the modern suburbs were the great Russian establishments for the reception of pilgrims. These were at the time supposed to have been constructed from political as well as charitable considerations, as they would be admirably adapted to contain a large military force in case of necessity. Another early building in the suburbs was the range of small houses erected by Sir Moses Montefiore for the reception of poor Jews on the hill opposite Mount Sion, which formed, as it were, the germ of the large Jewish colony now settled in Jerusalem, a colony which has been drawn together by the funds contributed by well-to-do Jews in Europe for the support of their poor brethren in Jerusalem.

During the past forty years the extension of the suburbs has been continuous, and they now contain churches, hospitals, hospices, schools, etc., provided by many denominations of Christians, and also by the Jews, which are more than sufficient to supply the requirements both of the inhabitants and of pilgrims. These it is unnecessary to enumerate, as full information with regard to them is given in the many excellent guide-books published for the use of visitors to Palestine; and as yet they cannot be regarded as taking a prominent place in the history of Jerusalem.

Beside the great development in the social and religious character of the Holy City during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there has been progress in another direction, which to the student of history is even of greater importance. This may be said to have originated with the charitable desire of a well-known English lady, the late Baroness Burdett-Coutts, to remedy one of the long-standing defects of Jerusalem,

the want of a good water supply, a defect which has been fully explained in the preceding pages.

Lady Burdett-Coutts, having learned that the first step towards the consideration of the question was the construction of an accurate survey of Jerusalem and the surrounding country, gave the money, required for the purpose, to the Director General of the Ordnance Survey at Southampton, and Captain Wilson, R.E. (the late Major-General Sir C. W. Wilson, K.C.B.), with some men of the Royal Engineers, was sent to Palestine in 1864 to carry out the work. Wilson made an accurate plan of Jerusalem and the neighbourhood, which has formed the basis of all plans of the city made since that time. He also constructed plans on a large scale of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Haram enclosure, and carried out some important underground explorations round the latter, which may be regarded as the first serious attempt to investigate the topography of ancient Jerusalem, that city which is now completely concealed from view under the accumulations of rubbish gradually piled up in the course of many centuries.

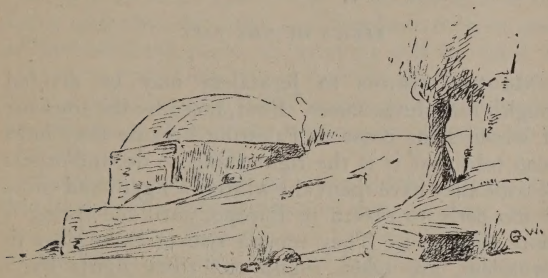
The results of his investigations excited great interest in England, and the Palestine Exploration Fund was founded in 1865 for the scientific investigation of the topography and archæology of Palestine. After making a preliminary survey of Palestine in 1866, the Committee of the Society decided to continue the underground exploration of Jerusalem, which had been so ably commenced by Captain Wilson, and, in 1867, Captain Warren, R.E. (now General Sir C. Warren, G.C.M.G.) was sent out to superintend the work, which was continued for three years and resulted in most interesting discoveries, that had the effect of greatly modifying the conclusions arrived at by

explorers, who were only acquainted with the present surface of the ground, and were ignorant of all that lay below.

After the termination of the explorations of Captain Warren in 1870, the Committee decided to prepare an accurate map of Western Palestine on a scale of one inch to the mile, an expensive undertaking, which was carried out by the late Colonel Conder, R.E. This work took some years to complete, and, during its progress, Jerusalem was not neglected, and a mass of information was collected, thanks to the investigations of M. Clermont Ganneau, the late Dr. Schick and others. In 1894 Dr. F. J. Bliss, assisted by Mr. A. C. Dickie, carried out a careful examination of the southern part of Jerusalem from Mount Sion to Siloam, and made some most interesting discoveries, including the recovery of the ancient south wall of the city, a wall that had entirely disappeared, and of the church at the Pool of Siloam, which had been built in the fifth, and destroyed by the Persians in the sixth century. As this church lay twenty feet below the present surface it could only be surveyed by sinking shafts and driving tunnels.

The results of what has been discovered during the past fifty years have, of course, been taken into account in the compilation of the story of Jerusalem given in the preceding chapters; but it must be remembered that our knowledge is still very incomplete, and that there are many questions still unsolved which can only be gradually investigated, on account of the difficulty of carrying out underground explorations in a city so thickly inhabited, and constructed of houses so closely built together. Had Jerusalem been a city like others in the East, and fallen completely into ruin, the task would have been an easier one, but as has been

pointed out, it differs in this respect from other cities of antiquity, as, often though it has been destroyed, it has always risen again, like a phœnix from its ashes, and is now a flourishing and populous town, nearly three thousand years since it was selected by King David as the capital of the Kingdom of Israel.



CHAPTER IX

RELICS OF THE PAST

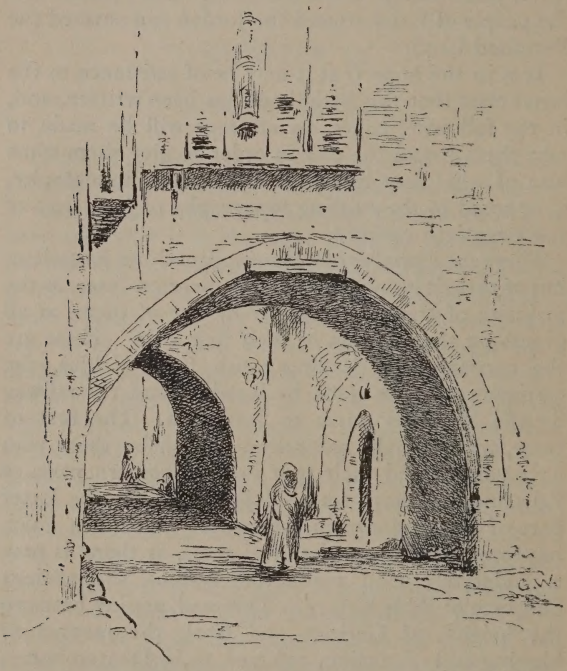
MODERN visitors to Jerusalem may be divided roughly into three classes. First, there are the tourists, of whom some come to Palestine because they have been told that it is the right thing to do, and others because they have spent the winter in Egypt and think it too early to return to Europe, until the spring is more advanced. They remain two or three days in Jerusalem, are taken round the stock sights by a dragoman, and, having little knowledge of the history of the city, find it a dirty and rather disagreeable place, and, on their return home, probably inform their friends that they were "much disappointed with Jerusalem." Secondly, there are the pilgrims who come to the country from a spirit of religious devotion, and want to see for themselves all the places mentioned in the Bible, which they expect to find in much the same condition as they were two thousand years ago. They endeavour to follow the steps of the Lord Jesus through the Holy City, and believe all that is told them with reference to the different sacred sites, carefully marked out for the information of those who come on pilgrimage. Lastly, there are the persons who, for the sake of distinction, may be called the travellers, who have studied the history and topography of the city, and, while fully realizing the great changes through which it has passed in the course of many centuries, wish to continue their studies on

the spot, and to picture to themselves as far as possible, what Jerusalem was like at different periods of its existence, and so to trace its story from the time that it was just a village in the hills, long before Joshua and the people of Israel crossed the Jordan and entered the Promised Land.

It is in the hope that it may be of assistance to the latter class that this little book has been written, and, in the following pages, an attempt will be made to take them round the city in order to give them some idea of what may be called its historical topography, as opposed to the existing topography of Jerusalem of the twentieth century.

There are a number of ways of approaching Jerusalem, but of these it is only necessary to mention three, as the majority of travellers reach it by one of them, at all events on the occasion of their first visit. These are the carriage road leading south from Nablus, the carriage road from Jaffa by Ramleh, and the railway by the Wady es Surar to Jerusalem. The first of these, which would naturally be taken by those who have commenced their tour in the northern parts of Palestine, and have reserved Jerusalem for the latter part of their sojourn in the country, has been much improved within the last few years, as there is now a moderately good road from Nablus, the ancient Shechem of Bible history. This road, passing between the heights of Gerizim and Ebal, the mounts of blessing and of cursing, referred to in Deuteronomy, xxvii. 12, 13, turns south at Jacob's Well, and then winds through the hill country of Ephraim. Shortly before arriving at El Bireh, twenty-six miles from Nablus, the village of Beitin, supposed to be the site of Bethel, is seen on the left, and, six miles farther on, the commanding hill of Neby Samwil lies to the right of the road. From this hill, which is one of the highest

points in the mountains of Judæa, having an elevation of 2,935 feet above the sea, there is a magnificent view of the surrounding country, from the Mediterranean



NEAR THE OLD SERAI

to the Valley of the Jordan. Continuing along the road, the traveller passes over Mount Scopus, and gets his first view of Jerusalem, distant about a mile and a half, and more than one hundred feet below. This is certainly the best point from which to see the city for

the first time, and one realizes its position as a city set on a hill, and surrounded with hills. From Mount Scopus the road descends in a gentle slope and enters the city at the Damascus Gate. As, however, there is no road through the town for carriages, these turn to the right before reaching the gate, and go through the modern suburbs, lying outside the walls, to the hotel quarter.

The carriage road from Jaffa, the usual port of landing for southern Palestine, follows what has been the line of approach to Jerusalem from the sea for many centuries, at all events since the time of King Solomon, when the timber for the Temple was brought from Lebanon to Jaffa, and hauled across the mountains. Leaving the port, the road crosses the Plain of Sharon, and, passing Lydda on the left, reaches Ramleh, the scene of so much fighting during the Crusades. Thence it goes through the undulating country known as the Shephelah and enters the hills at a place called Bab el Wad, or the Gate of the Valley, whence a long and steep ascent leads to the village of Kuryet el Enab, generally identified with Kirjath Jearim of the Bible, which stands at an elevation of nearly 2,400 feet above the sea. Then, after descending into the Wady es Surar, and crossing the river bed by a bridge at Kulonieh, there is another long ascent, and the houses of Jerusalem begin to come in sight; but the old town is almost concealed by the modern suburbs, and the walls can hardly be seen until the Jaffa Gate is reached.

In many respects the route by railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem has advantages over the carriage road just described, as it passes through a more interesting country, and the first view obtained of the Holy City is more satisfactory. The train goes very slowly, and takes nearly four hours to do the distance of fifty-four miles, so that one can study the places along the route.

As far as Ramleh the railway follows approximately the same line as the carriage road, and then continues south through the country of the Philistines. Four miles beyond Ramleh the village of Akir, possibly the ancient Ekron to which the Ark of the Covenant was taken after its capture by the Philistines, is seen on the right, and to the left the mound of Tell el Jezar, the site of the city of Gezer, where some most interesting explorations were recently carried out by Dr. R. A. S. Macalister for the Palestine Exploration Fund. The history of this tell goes back to remote antiquity, to a time long before Joshua invaded the country and killed the king of Gezer. The next railway station, Sejed, is at the beginning of the Wady es Surar, the Valley of Sorek of the Bible, where Delilah lived who beguiled Samson, down which a mountain torrent flows during the rains, leaving a dry bed for most of the year. Soon after passing Sejed the line takes an easterly direction, entering the hill country of Judæa, and, shortly before reaching Deir Aban station, the mound of Ain Shems is seen on the right, commanding the entrance to the valley. Here was the ancient city of Beth Shemesh, the district round which was the scene of constant fighting between the Israelites and the Philistines. The excavations now in progress have brought to light the walls and gate of the old town, long concealed from view, and also relics of the time when the country was under the power of the Pharaohs of Egypt. Across the valley, two miles distant, is the village of Surah on the site of Zorah, where Samson, the champion of the Israelites, was born, and where there is a wely, or holy place, dedicated to Sheikh es Samet, who is connected by tradition with the strong man Samson.

After passing Deir Aban the train enters a rocky gorge and begins to climb the steep ascent to Jeru-

salem, first through the Wady es Surar, and then through the Wady es Sikkeh, bounded on each side by precipitous cliffs round which the railway winds, crossing and recrossing the rocky bed of the stream. The characteristic formation of these hills, with their steps of limestone rock looking like giant stairs, should be noticed, as they give a good idea of what the hills, upon which Jerusalem is built, were like, before they were touched by the hand of man. Just before reaching Bittir, the next station, the train stops for the engine to take in water, as here is the best spring in the valley, the water supply for the village of Bittir, which can be seen on the hill above, somewhere near the site of the town of Bether, where Julius Severus defeated the Jews in A.D. 135, and suppressed the revolt of Bar Koziba. Bittir is the last place the train stops at, and, after leaving it, the ravine gradually opens out and rises into the Valley of Rephaim, where King David defeated the Philistines. The summit level, from which Jerusalem can be seen, is soon reached, and shortly afterwards the train arrives at the terminus of the line, where cabs and other signs of modern civilization strike the eye of the traveller, and show that Jerusalem, if a city of the past, is also very much a city of the present.

If it is his first visit, he is strongly recommended to send his belongings to the hotel or hospice where he proposes to reside, and to proceed on foot to the Jaffa Gate, distant three-quarters of a mile, not by the carriage road, which descends into the valley and then rises to the gate, but by a road which turns to the left after leaving the station, and follows the west side of the valley until nearly opposite the citadel; and by so doing he will avoid the dust and noise of the carriage road, and will get a much better first impression of the city and its surroundings. The route suggested passes

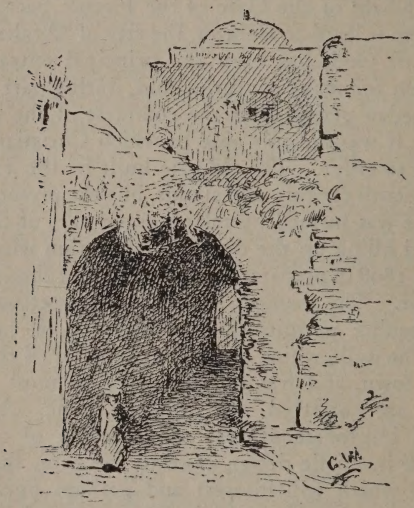
near the row of Jewish almshouses built by the late Sir Moses Montefiore, and at a point near these a halt should be made in order to get a general idea of the situation of the city. The hill immediately opposite is the modern Mount Sion (*see* p. 5), dominated by the new Benedictine convent and church of the Dormition of the Virgin, built on ground given to the German Emperor on the occasion of his visit in 1898; while to the right of these is the building known as the Cœnaculum, the traditional site of the Last Supper, which probably stands over the remains of the great Basilica of St. Mary, erected by the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century. To the south is the deep Wady er Rababeh, usually identified with the Valley of Hinnom of the Bible, which slopes downwards in an easterly direction towards the Pool of Siloam and the Valley of the Kedron. On the north side of this valley ran the old or first wall of the city, built originally by King David or King Solomon and destroyed by the Emperor Titus in A.D. 70. To the left of the new German church can be seen the city wall, built by the Turks in 1542, going north to the citadel, and east to the Sion Gate, while near at hand, below in the valley, is the large artificial reservoir called Birket es Sultan, supposed to have been originally constructed in the twelfth century, and restored by Sultan Suleiman in the sixteenth century. The ancient aqueduct that used to bring water into the city, believed to have been that provided by Pontius Pilate (*see* p. 98), follows the valley close to the Montefiore cottages, and then, crossing above the Birket es Sultan, turns along the east slope, and comes round Mount Sion. Until a few years ago, there were very few houses on the west side of the valley, but now a suburb has sprung up extending to that part of New Jerusalem lying to the north of the old city, which is thus surrounded on two sides by

modern buildings, detracting a good deal from the picturesqueness of the view. Continuing along the western slope, a turn to the right brings the visitor back to the carriage road from the station, and to the open place in front of the Jaffa Gate, a bustling spot, the centre of traffic in Jerusalem.

The Jaffa Gate, known to the inhabitants as the Bab el Khalil or the Gate of the Friend, because the road from it leads to Hebron, the city of Abraham, the Friend of God, has been the principal entrance to Jerusalem for many centuries, and, during part of the Mahomedan period after the conquest of the city by Saladin, it was the only gate by which Christians were allowed to enter. The old gate built by the Turks in the sixteenth century still stands, but the present main entrance was formed by taking down part of the city wall and filling up the ditch, an alteration which was made in 1898 in preparation for the visit of the German Emperor. The change is rather to be regretted, as the new opening permits of the entrance of carriages within the walls, which alters the character of this part of the town, and was not necessary, as most of the streets are unfitted for wheel traffic. Another modern improvement was the erection of a clock tower of inartistic design close to the gate, the clock faces of which will interest and perhaps puzzle the traveller, as they show both European and Turkish time with different hours, the Turkish day commencing at sunset and changing day by day according as the time of sunset alters.

Inside the Jaffa Gate is an open place known as Meidan el Maukaf, which was considerably enlarged when the new entrance was made, by filling in a great part of the fosse that formerly surrounded the citadel. The latter is on the right, and the Grand New Hotel, much frequented by tourists, is on the left, while just

opposite is the office of the agent of Messrs. T. Cook & Sons, who will be found very helpful by visitors. From the balcony in front of his office there is a good view of this busy part of Jerusalem, and a short time can well be spent there in studying the types of the inhabitants and of the representatives of many nation-



A LANE IN JERUSALEM

alities who all, at some time or other, pass through this square.

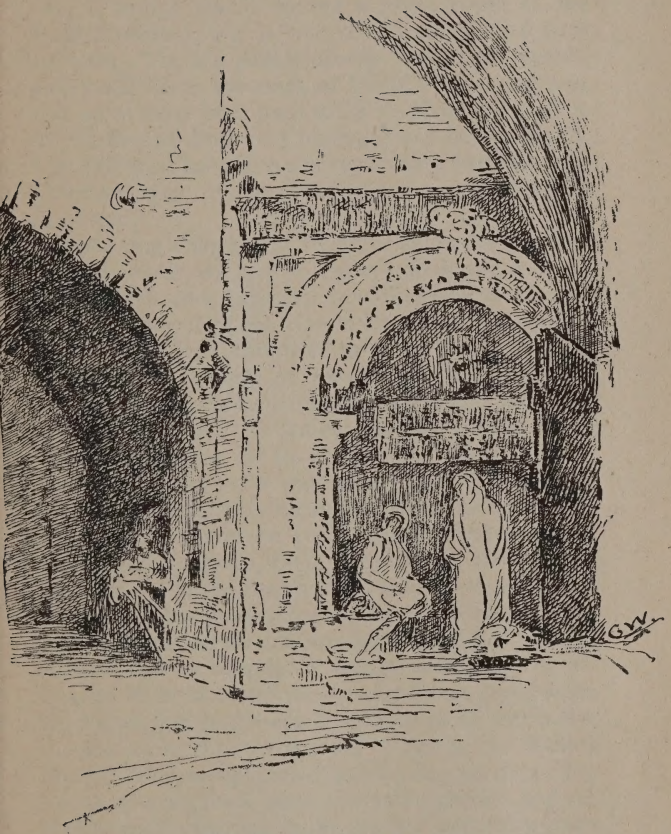
For the traveller who wishes to understand the historical topography of Jerusalem, there is no better point to start from than the Meidan el Maukaf, for here, from the time of the Jebusites to King Herod, stood the north-eastern angle of the old city, and here

was the magnificent palace of that king, protected by the great towers described at page 88. The palace has entirely disappeared, having been destroyed by Titus, but it is possible that the foundations of the northern towers of the Turkish citadel may be those of two of the towers built by Herod, and the one adjoining the Jaffa Gate has been identified with Hippicus, while the other, opposite to the Grand Hotel, and now called, quite incorrectly, the tower of David, is supposed to represent Phasælus. The fact that these towers were spared by Titus when the walls of Jerusalem were demolished, accounts for the foundations being still in existence, but the upper parts of the structures are comparatively modern.

Perhaps the best way to commence a study of Jerusalem is to follow the lines of the walls as they existed at different periods, and this can conveniently be done in two excursions, both beginning and ending at the Jaffa Gate, the first being devoted to an examination of the probable line of what Josephus calls the first or old wall built by the early kings, and the other to the second and third walls, as described by the same author. These walks will give the visitor some idea of the area occupied by the city in ancient times, and will enable him better to understand the position of the various buildings inside the city.

Two main streets start from the open place inside the Jaffa Gate, of which one goes south past the citadel, and leads to the Armenian quarter, while the other crosses the city in a nearly direct line from west to east. Looking down the latter, commonly called David Street, it will be seen that it descends rapidly; the original surface of the rock, over which it passes, has, however, a considerably steeper slope, as here is the beginning of the deep valley which, as has already been explained (*see* p. 9), cuts the site of Jerusalem in

two, dividing the western from the north-western hill, and in some places the rock is fifty feet below the present street level. This valley formed a natural ditch in front of the city wall, and must have added greatly to its strength. After going down David Street for about one hundred yards, two streets are met which enter it from the left and right; of these the one on the left, called Christian Street, will be referred to later, while the other on the right, rather an alley than a street, has a steep flight of steps leading up it. Mounting these steps and turning to the left, one finds that this lane, called Harat ed Dawayeh, has a steep drop on the north side as if it went along the top of a wall. It is probable that this is really the case, and that the lane is over the remains of the ancient north wall of Jerusalem. A little farther on, the lane descends again to meet the main street, crossing the whole length of the city from north to south, and, near this point, there were found some years ago the remains of an old gateway, which must have stood on or near the site of the Old Gate mentioned in the Book of Nehemiah. From this gate the wall continued to the east, but has now entirely disappeared, and, if the foundations still exist, they are buried under the houses. Here we are at the place of the three bazaars called the Syrian Exchange in the twelfth century (*see* p. 198). Up to the time of King Herod the ground upon which these bazaars stand was outside the city wall, and there, no doubt, the people came from the country to buy and sell, just as they do at the present day in the open space outside the Damascus Gate. We have now returned to David Street, and continue along it to the Bab es Silsileh, or Gate of the Chain, one of the most important entrances into the Haram enclosure. Under the street at this point was found a most curious system of



OLD FOUNTAIN IN EL WAD

underground vaults, and, close to the Haram, it passed over a bridge which crossed a lower street in the twelfth century, but is now completely buried with rubbish. The old wall probably crossed the central valley a little to the south of David Street, and near this point must have been the Fish Gate, referred to in the Second Book of Chronicles and in Nehemiah, but, as it must have been sixty or seventy feet below the present surface of the ground, it is not likely to be recovered.

Returning along David Street for about one hundred and fifty yards, we turn to the left down the Harat el Mogharibeh, and, following a crooked lane, reach that part of the wall of the Haram known as the Wailing Place of the Jews, the route to which is clearly indicated by the groups of Jews going backwards and forwards, especially on Friday afternoon and Saturday, when they assemble to lament the destruction of the Temple and pray for its restoration. Here is to be seen part of the great wall of the Haram containing some large stones which may date from the time when King Herod rebuilt the Temple, and, at the south end of the Wailing Place, there is the lintel of what was formerly one of the entrances into the enclosure of the Temple. This lintel stone is more than twenty-four feet in length and seven feet in height, and the doorway beneath it, now completely buried, was found by Sir Charles Warren to be twenty-eight feet high, while the foundation of the wall is seventy-three feet below the present level of the ground. Leaving the Wailing Place and following another lane leading south, we find a path opening on to some cultivated ground, and the Haram wall is seen again on the left containing some very large stones, one of which is thirty-eight feet long and must weigh about eighty tons. Not far from the angle where the wall turns to the east projects the

springing stone of a great arch which formerly spanned the valley and carried the road of approach to the Royal Cloister erected by Herod, and described by Josephus as one of the most remarkable of the great buildings which surrounded the Temple. The explorations made in 1867 showed that this arch had a span of forty-one feet six inches, and that its farther end was supported on a pier fifty feet in height, built up from the solid rock, while, under the arch and sixty-three feet below the present surface, there was a channel twelve feet deep cut in the rock, which may possibly have been one of the water conduits made by King Hezekiah when he improved the water supply of Jerusalem.

Returning to the path through the cactus, we reach the present wall of the city, and, passing through it by the Bab el Mogharibeh, commonly called the Dung Gate, turn to the left and soon arrive at the south-east angle of the Haram enclosure. Here we are on Ophel, the eastern hill of Jerusalem, in former days the site of the Royal City of King David, which slopes down towards the Pool of Siloam, while the Valley of the Kedron, with the Mount of Olives beyond, is on the east. In the south wall of the Haram close at hand are two gates known as the Triple and the Double Gates, which once served as entrances to the Temple, but are now walled up. Extending along this wall is a course of masonry six feet in height built of enormous stones, one of which at the corner must weigh at least one hundred tons, and is the largest known stone in the wall. At the corner the wall, as it exists, is over seventy feet in height, but, underground, it continues for eighty feet more to the foundation on the rock, and there the foundation stones were beautifully cut and fitted together. Whether they were laid in the time of Solomon or of Herod is a disputed point, but however

this may be, it is a marvel how these great masses of stone were put in place.

Looking north from the corner one can see the whole east wall of the Haram, and, beyond that again, the east wall of the city, extending to the north-east corner, distant half-a-mile, while to the south the line on which the east wall of the City of David stood can be followed approximately, although this wall no longer exists except in parts, where it has been found buried in the rubbish. Taking the path which leads south along the brow of the hill, the entrance to the Virgin's Fountain can be seen down the hillside to the left. From this fountain, which is the only spring at present existing in Jerusalem, the tunnel possibly made in the time of King Hezekiah conducts the water under the hill to the Pool of Siloam. Continuing along the path the lower pool, called Birket el Hamra, is reached, and a little higher up is the Pool of Siloam, which there can be no doubt is that described in the New Testament, although in those times it was much larger than at present, and was surrounded with a covered portico. North of the pool Dr. Bliss discovered the remains of a most interesting church, probably built by the Empress Eudocia in the fifth century, and destroyed by the Persians in A.D. 614. The foundations of the church are about twenty feet underground, but near the site a minaret has recently been built, apparently to show that the place is regarded as sacred to the Mahomedans, and thus prevent any attempt on the part of the Christians to rebuild the church.

About two hundred and fifty feet south of the old pool the city wall turned to the west, and, near the angle, Dr. Bliss found the remains of two gates in the wall, one of which was probably the Fountain Gate referred to in the Book of Nehemiah. A little farther on the path which we have been following joins the

road leading to the west up the Valley of Hinnom, and meeting the road from the railway station at the Birket es Sultan. Ascending the Valley of Hinnom we are going parallel to the old south wall of the city, which followed the crest of the hill from Siloam westwards. It is now buried in rubbish, but the foundations which were discovered by Dr. Bliss confirm the accuracy of the description of the wall given by Josephus. After reaching the Birket es Sultan the traveller should leave the road and take a path to the right leading up the slope of Mount Sion to the building known as Bishop Gobat's School, behind which is the British cemetery. Here there is a most interesting rock-cut scarp, which must have formed a part of the southern defences of the city from very early times, and, at the eastern end of this, are the foundations of a strong tower, fifty yards beyond which Dr. Bliss discovered the remains of another ancient gate in the wall, probably the Valley Gate, repaired by Nehemiah, when he restored the fortifications of the city. Leaving Bishop Gobat's School the path should be followed leading north to the existing wall, and then outside the latter to the Jaffa Gate. This part of the wall, though comparatively modern, undoubtedly stands on the same line as the ancient fortifications which formed the defence on this side of Jerusalem.

Having thus followed the line of the old or first wall, the visitor will have got a good idea of the extent of the city as it was from the time of the kings of Judah until Herod, and will be able to understand that more than half of ancient Jerusalem has ceased to exist, never having recovered from its destruction by Titus. He should next try to realize the possible position of the second wall, respecting which, as has been explained in Chapter III, there has been much controversy, as, upon the position of this second wall, depends to a consider-

able extent the question of the authenticity of the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre. But before commencing this tour it will be advisable to take a survey of the ancient reservoir usually known as the Pool of Hezekiah, or the Pool of the Patriarch, that lies hidden away among the houses to the east of the Grand New Hotel. A good view of it can be obtained from the balcony at the back of a native hotel on the left-hand side of David Street, whence one overlooks the pool and sees, beyond, the domes of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Although it is commonly called the Pool of Hezekiah it is not probable that this king had anything to do with it, as, when he reigned, the place was outside the wall of the town, and it is unlikely he would have made a reservoir which could be used by an enemy besieging the town, especially as we are told in 1 Chronicles xxxii. 3, that the object of his engineering works was to cut off all sources of water supply exterior to the city. It is more probable that the pool formed a part of the ditch of the second wall, which there can be little doubt ran on the line of the houses on the east side between the pool and Christian Street. The first mention of the pool by the old writers is in the account of the great siege of A.D. 70, written by Josephus, where it is called Amygdalon, and is said to have been close to the place where the tenth and fifteenth Roman legions set up their engines to batter the towers of the first wall.

Starting once more down David Street we take the first turn to the left into Christian Street, one of the most important thoroughfares in Jerusalem, as it is the principal way to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and contains many shops where are sold candles, pictures, beads and other articles for pilgrims, who may be seen here bargaining for mementos of their visit to the Holy City. Christian Street is also of great

interest from an historical point of view, as it follows approximately the line of the second wall, which must have joined the first wall at a point a little to the south of David Street, where, according to Josephus, there was a gate called Gennath in the old wall. One hundred and fifty yards along Christian Street a lane to the right leads to the courtyard of the Holy Sepulchre, and those writers, who desire to prove that this was outside the second wall, believe that the latter made a sharp turn here and went down the hill to the east. Viewing the matter purely from a fortification point of view this is not very probable, and it seems more likely that the wall continued along the line of Christian Street outside the Holy Sepulchre, and turned eastwards at the end of the street. As, however, no trace of the wall has been found so far, the question is one upon which every one is entitled to have his own opinion. At the top of Christian Street another street called Khot el Khankeh leads eastward, and the second wall probably followed a line a little to the north of this street, and then, crossing the deep central valley (*see* p. 9), joined the fortress of Antonia, which stood, as has already been described, at the north-west angle of the Temple enclosure. The visitor can follow the line by going down the Khot el Khankeh, crossing the bazaars, turning to the left up the street called El Wad or the Street of the Valley, and again to the right under the Austrian Hospice, and thence by the Via Dolorosa as far as the old Roman arch which spans the street, and which must stand somewhere near the place where the second wall ended at Antonia. But it must, of course, be understood that neither the street nor the arch existed at the time of the Crucifixion of our Lord, and the tower of Antonia was utterly destroyed by Titus. The central valley has been filled up and the second wall has disappeared, so that

KHOT EL KHANKEH

it requires a strong effort of the imagination to picture this part of the city as it was nineteen hundred years ago.

The Turkish barracks on the right-hand side of the street beyond the arch may be regarded as the modern representation of the tower of Antonia, occupied by a Roman garrison in the time of Christ, but the latter probably covered a larger area and extended north of the present street, under which some extensive and interesting vaults have been discovered. After passing the Roman arch, the street, which is called Tarik Bab Sitti Mariam, or the street of the gate of the Lady Mary, continues along the north of the Haram to a gate of the city, called St. Mary's Gate or St. Stephen's Gate. Of these names the former is more correct, as the street passes the church of St. Anne, the traditional birth-place of the Virgin Mary, and opens on to the Valley of the Kedron at a point directly opposite the church of the Tomb of the Virgin. The name of St. Stephen was given to the gate in the twelfth century, in consequence of a tradition that he was martyred near the spot, but this was in opposition to the older tradition that he was stoned outside the Damascus Gate. Shortly before reaching the gate a large rectangular reservoir is seen on the right-hand side of the street, between the latter and the Haram, called the Birket Israel or Pool of Israel, and sometimes, but incorrectly, named the Pool of Bethesda. This pool, that lies across a deep valley now almost filled up with rubbish, is really the ditch in front of the old outer wall of the Temple enclosure, which ended in a massive tower in the east wall, sixty yards south of St. Mary's Gate. After passing through the gate one can see the whole of the eastern wall of Jerusalem, of which the part to the south is the wall of the Haram enclosure, while

that to the north is the modern sixteenth-century city wall, built on the line of the third or outer wall constructed by King Herod Agrippa in A.D. 41 (*see* p. 102). Josephus tells us that the third wall joined the old wall at the Valley of Kedron, and the probable point of junction can be seen at the tower just mentioned, while one hundred and sixty yards farther south along the wall will be noticed the outer arches of the Golden Gate, now blocked up with masonry, which probably dates from the fourth century.

Turning to the north and continuing along the outside of the city wall one soon arrives at the north-east angle, where the wall turns sharply to the west, enclosing the quarter of the city called Bezetha, or the New City, by Josephus. About three hundred yards from the corner is Herod's Gate, also called Bab ez Zahireh, or the Gate of the Flowers, which has a special interest, as it was at this point that Godfrey of Bouillon, after a hard struggle, was the first of the Crusaders to enter Jerusalem in 1099, but the wall and gate have been rebuilt since his time. The original wall built by Herod Agrippa has almost entirely disappeared, but, here and there, are traces of the foundations of this magnificent line of fortifications, that, as Josephus says, was " all of it wonderful." Soon after passing Herod's Gate some rising ground is seen on the right, supposed by some writers to be the site of the Crucifixion, but for this there is no historical evidence, and the cutting through the hill, followed by the road, was probably not made until Agrippa built the third wall. Those who are interested in this question can study them in the work, already referred to, called *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, written by the late General Sir C. W. Wilson, who enters fully into the different arguments. On the

left of the road is a door in the cliff, the entrance to the quarries of King Solomon, already described at page 34. Fifty yards beyond this the Damascus Gate is reached, the main gate on the north side of the city, and inside, on the left hand, can be seen the remains of an ancient arch, constructed of large stones, which may have formed part of the original gateway built by King Agrippa. The open place outside the gate is a centre of business for the inhabitants, and here the modern buildings of the New Jerusalem, the suburb that has sprung up within the last few years, commence. Just opposite the gate is the imposing German Hospice of St. Paul's, recently built for the Lazarist Fathers, and, behind the latter, is the large church of St. Stephen, rebuilt by the French Dominicans on the foundation of the original church of St. Stephen, erected by the Empress Eudocia in the fifth century. Not far from this church is the tomb called the Garden Tomb, which, during the past few years has been suggested as the veritable Holy Sepulchre, an identification which is improbable, as it is not likely that the tomb was in existence at the time of the Crucifixion. Farther along the north road beyond St. Stephen's Church is the British Cathedral of St. George, recently built by Bishop Blyth, the Anglican bishop in Jerusalem, while, a short distance beyond St. George's, are the interesting sepulchres, commonly called the Tombs of the Kings, although there is no evidence that any kings were buried there.

After leaving the Damascus Gate we continue in a westerly direction by the road which runs parallel to the city wall, and reach the large new Hospice of Nôtre Dame de France, opposite to which a new gate has been opened in the wall, called Bab Sultan Abd el Hamid in honour of the late Sultan of Turkey. To

the north-west are the great Russian buildings for the accommodation of pilgrims, and somewhere in this vicinity was the camp of Titus, when he besieged

TOMBS OF THE KINGS

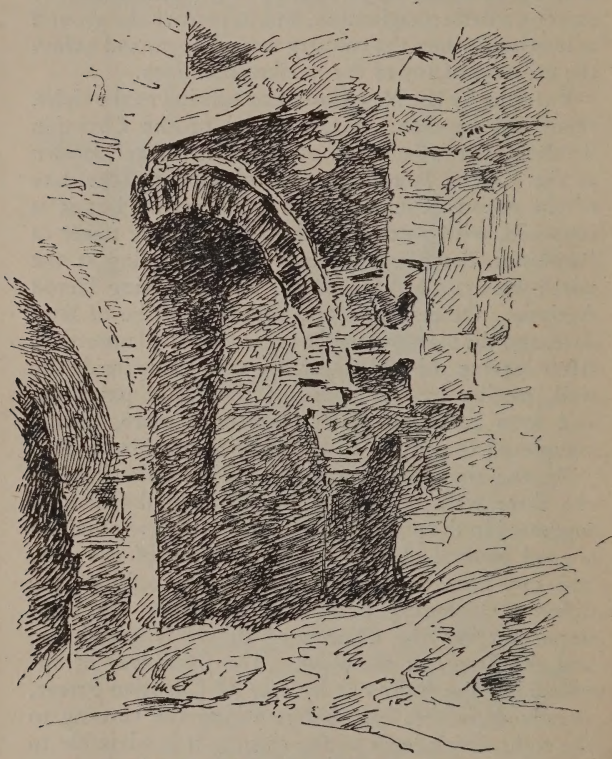
Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and also the camp of Tancred and his followers at the time of the siege of Jerusalem by the Crusaders; while nearer the city was the place where Rabshakeh and the Assyrian army encamped

and defied King Hezekiah and his God. There are few places more full of historical associations than this north-west corner of Jerusalem, but it is necessary to exercise a little imagination, and to picture the ground as it existed when the country was all open, and before the erection of any of the modern buildings.

Entering by the New Gate, and turning to the right, there can be seen, in the school of the Christian Brothers, the foundations of an ancient tower, known as the Kasr el Jalud, or castle of Goliath, the date of the construction of which is uncertain, but it is supposed, with some probability, to be the tower of Psephinus, described by Josephus as standing at the north-west corner of the wall built by King Herod Agrippa. Others, however, believe it to be of later date, and the matter must be regarded as still unsettled. After leaving this old tower, we take a lane inside the wall, passing by the house of the Latin patriarch, and soon reach the Jaffa Gate once more, having completed the circuit of the second and third walls.

By the time the visitor has followed the lines of the three walls of ancient Jerusalem in the manner suggested in the preceding pages, he will have obtained a good general idea of the topography of the city, and can next devote himself to the study of the different historical buildings, of which the most important are the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Dome of the Rock. The usual way of approaching the former is by way of Christian Street, already described, but, before taking the turning to the right which leads to the church, it is advisable to go a little farther along the street to look at an interesting old arch on the right-hand side, now built up, formerly the western approach to the Sepulchre, but which was closed when Saladin captured the city, so that there should be only one way of entrance to the

church for Christian pilgrims. The style of this doorway is similar to that of the arches in the south façade



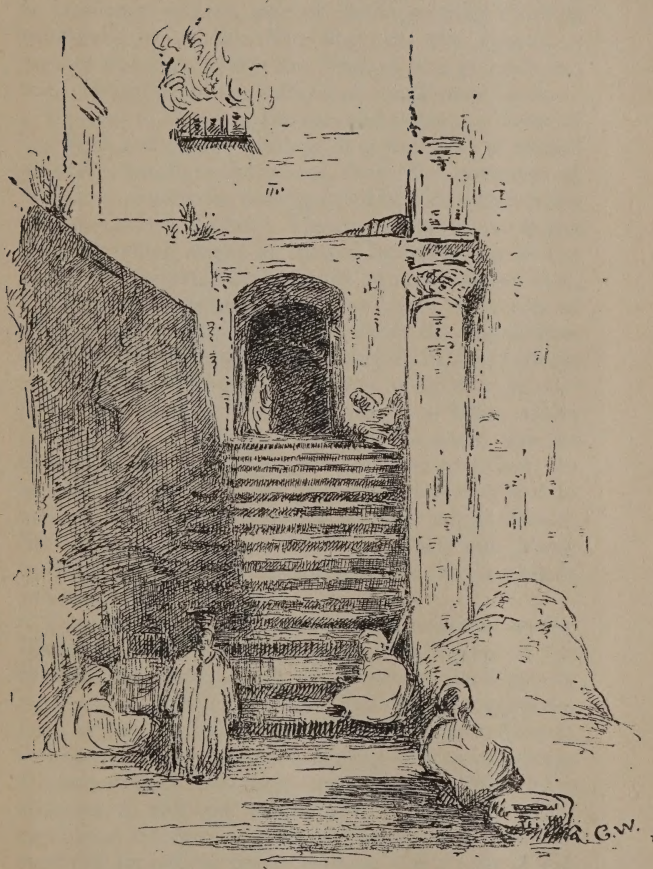
WEST DOOR OF HOLY SEPULCHRE

of the church, so that it was probably built by the Crusaders in the twelfth century, but there was an approach to the Tomb from this point from very early

times, and it is mentioned by the lady pilgrim Etheria (commonly called St. Sylvia), who visited Jerusalem in the fourth century. A flight of steps led down from the entrance to the level of the Tomb, thirty feet below the street, but these have disappeared, and their place has been taken by the existing steps, leading down to the courtyard on the south side of the church. The latter steps are approached from Christian Street by a lane, in which, as in the street itself, are shops filled with articles for the use of pilgrims, while on the steps themselves there are usually many beggars, eager to receive alms from the devout who are on their way to worship at the Tomb. At the foot of the steps will be noticed the remains of the old colonnade, of which one pillar, built into the wall on the left, and the bases of some of the other pillars are all that remain. The steps end on the south side of the courtyard of the church, a busy place, especially at Easter, when pilgrims of all nations assemble to celebrate the great Christian feast, and one could remain there for hours, observing the people, and looking at the processions of patriarchs and priests, going to and coming from their devotions. The façade of the church closes the courtyard on the north, while, on the west side, are the chapels of St. James, St. John and of the Forty Martyrs, next to the campanile, all belonging to the Greek Church; on the east side are the Greek convent of Abraham, the Armenian chapel of St. John, the Coptic chapel of St. Michael and the Latin chapel of the Agony of the Virgin, underneath which is the Greek chapel of St. Mary the Egyptian. Above the door of this chapel of St. John can be seen, embedded in the wall, the chancel arch of the church of St. Mary, the nave of which was taken down before the new church was built by the Crusaders in the twelfth century. As the

interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre has been described in previous pages, it is unnecessary to repeat the information which has been already given, but the traveller, who wishes to study this rather complicated building carefully, is recommended to choose a quiet time when there are no important religious ceremonies in progress, to examine the details, and to note the many alterations that have been made in the course of centuries. To visit it with a party, and to be led round by a dragoman or priest, is very unsatisfactory, and, under such circumstances, it is quite impossible to enter into the spirit of a place, which, whether it is really on the site of the Crucifixion and Resurrection or not, is certainly one of the most interesting religious buildings in the world.

After leaving the church and returning to the court-yard, the visitor may turn to the left and go through a doorway beside the convent of Abraham leading into the street called Harat ed Dabbaghin, or the Street of the Tannery, on the south side of which is the new Greek bazaar, built on the site of the Hospital of the Order of St. John, and the German Lutheran church of the Redeemer, recently erected on the foundations of the old church of St. Mary. Beyond the German church and the buildings connected with it there can still be seen some of the remains of the old buildings of the Muristan, but these will probably be removed shortly. It is difficult at first to understand that the Greek bazaar lies over a deep valley, but this can be partly realized by visiting the Greek church of St. John, at the south-west corner of the bazaar, underneath which is the old church, probably used by the Knights Hospitallers. This can be approached by an alley, leading from Christian Street, the entrance to the convent and upper church, where the sacristan, for a small fee, will be



STEPS LEADING TO HOLY SEPULCHRE

glad to take the visitor by a steep flight of steps down to the lower church, one of the interesting relics of mediæval Jerusalem. The floor of this church is twenty-one feet below the level of the ground and the rock surface of the valley is at a still lower level.

In order to enter the Haram, and to see the Dome of the Rock and other buildings, it is necessary to obtain an order, through the consul, from the governor of Jerusalem, and to be accompanied by a consular cavass and a Turkish soldier. This somewhat restricts the freedom which might be desired in examining all the points of interest, but it should be remembered that, for Moslems, it is holy ground, and that the action of Christians, and the manner in which they sometimes show their contempt for the Moslem faith, is not always such as to encourage the former to be very liberal-minded in opening their holy places to those whom they regard as infidels. Enough, however, can be seen to enable the intelligent traveller to follow the history, as related in the preceding chapters, and to realize the many vicissitudes through which Mount Moriah has passed since the Sacred Rock was chosen by King David as the site upon which the Temple of Jehovah was to be built.

The usual way of approach for Christians to the Haram is by the Suk el Kattanin, or Bazaar of the Cotton Merchants, a very dreary street, the shops on both sides of which are closed, and used as receptacles for the rubbish of the city. It is said to have been in this condition for centuries, though why so important a street should have been abandoned is difficult to understand, and one would have thought it might have been restored as part of the modern improvements of Jerusalem, but at present it is a relic of the state of decay into which the city had fallen by the end of the eighteenth century.

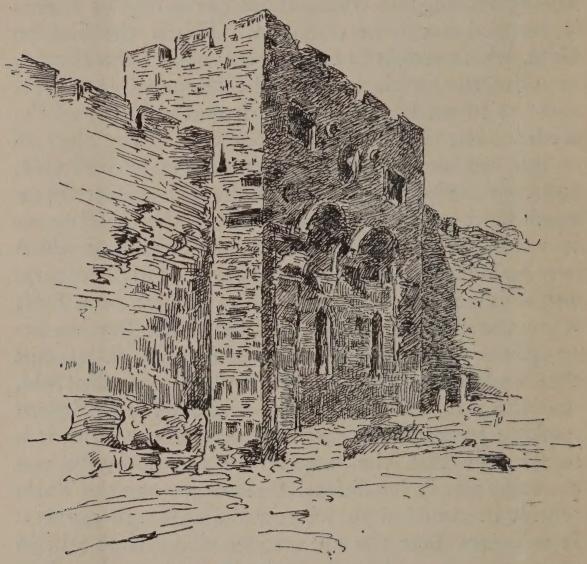
At the end of the derelict bazaar is the Bab el Kattanin, or Gate of the Cotton Merchants, and, from this, a flight of steps leads up to the level of the Haram enclosure, fourteen feet above the street, while, nearly in front of the gate, a staircase forty feet in width gives access to the raised platform upon which the Dome of the Rock stands. It is usual for visitors to enter this building by the eastern door, opposite to which is a smaller dome, called Kubbet es Silsileh, or the Dome of the Chain, and also called Mekhemeh en Neby Daoud, or the Judgment Seat of the Prophet David. This building should be specially noticed, as it gives an idea of what the Dome of the Rock was like, when first built by the Khalif Abd el Melek in A.D. 691, and before the exterior octagonal walls were added by the Khalif Mamun in A.D. 813, to protect worshippers at the Sacred Rock from the inclemency of the Jerusalem winter. This addition may have been necessary, and it certainly added to the stability of the building; but it detracted from its appearance, as the Dome must have looked more imposing when it stood in the air, supported only by the double colonnade of piers and pillars, just as the Dome of the Chain is at present supported by its similar but smaller colonnades.

That the Temple of the Jews was built over the Sacred Rock is one of the points in Jerusalem topography about which there can be no question, the only matter in dispute being whether it was the Altar of Burnt Sacrifice, or the Holy of Holies, that was directly over the Rock; but, as the reasons have already been given (*see* p. 36) for thinking that the latter is much more probable, it is unnecessary to repeat them. The capitals of the pillars should be noticed, and it will be seen that they are of varying size and design, showing that they had previously been used in other buildings, and were utilized by the architect

for their present purpose. It is very likely that some of them came from the remains of the Basilica of the Martyrium, built by Constantine, and destroyed eighty years before the Dome of the Rock was erected.

There is one building in the Haram enclosure, not usually shown, but which should certainly be visited if permission can be obtained. This is the Golden Gate, which stands in the eastern wall of the Haram, opposite to the platform of the Dome of the Rock, and was formerly the entrance from the Valley of the Kedron, but is now closed. The date of the erection of this remarkable building has not yet been settled, and it is curious that none of the old writers throw much light on the question. Within the building are two aisles, separated by columns, the capitals of which may be Byzantine work of the fourth or fifth century, and it is possible that the gate may have been built when the Emperor Julian permitted the Jews to attempt the reconstruction of their Temple, an attempt that ended in failure. The tradition usually told, that the gate was walled up to prevent the Christians retaking Jerusalem, is comparatively modern, but it is so far true that the masonry in the doorways was probably put in for defensive reasons, when the Turks rebuilt the walls of the city in the sixteenth century. It is known that the old wooden doors were still in position at the end of the fifteenth century, though in a dilapidated condition, and Felix Fabri, who visited Jerusalem in 1483, gives the following interesting account of them. "This woodwork is at the present day covered with scraps of gilded copper. The Saracens cut off pieces and scraps of these plates and nails, and sell them to the Christians, because many Christians take great pains to get a piece of that gate, and often risk their lives by going thither at night and tearing little pieces off it. Some lavish their money

instead, and bribe some Saracen to pluck morsels off the gate, and to give them copper or wood in return for gold or silver. The reason why relics from this gate are so dear is because it is said (whether it be a vain superstition or not, I cannot tell) that whosoever



THE GOLDEN GATE

carries a morsel of that gate about with him, will be proof against apoplexy, falling sickness and plague."

If the wall, adjoining to the Golden Gate outside, is examined, it is easy to see the large blocks in the old wall near the ground level, and above, the smaller stones used when the wall was rebuilt by the Turks, while the masonry in the piers of the gate seems to be of later date than the original wall, but much older

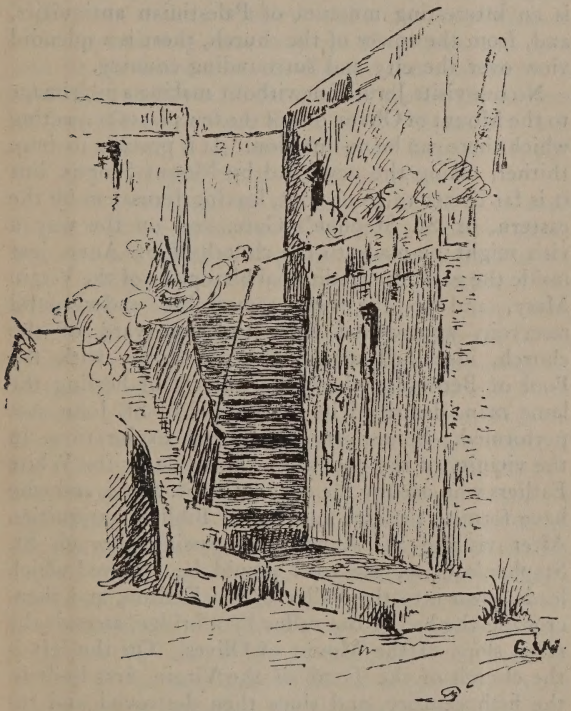
than the Turkish work. There is another massive wall, quite concealed by rubbish, in front of the Golden Gate and forty-six feet distant from it, which was found by Sir C. Warren when excavating at this place. It is possible that this was the wall built by King Solomon to surround the Temple, while the present line of wall dates from the time of King Herod, and the Golden Gate, again, was built on the top of the latter in the fourth century. The masonry at this gate, therefore, gives a kind of epitome of the history of Jerusalem. North of the Golden Gate and adjoining the Haram wall inside, is a small building called the Throne of Solomon, the origin of which is obscure, but it is regarded as specially sacred by Mahomedans, and Christians are not allowed to enter it.

At the southern end of the enclosure is the Mosque of Aksa, which has already been described, and, east of this, are the comparatively modern vaults, known as the Stables of King Solomon, used as stables by the Knights Templar, when they had their head-quarters in the mosque (*see* p. 190). These vaults have not yet been thoroughly explored, and it is possible that there are other ranges of vaults below, descending to the rock surface of the hill; but, as the Mahomedans very naturally object to explorations within the Haram, it may be a long time before the formation of these vaults is fully worked out, and, for the present, one can only theorize as to the date of their construction, and be content with the knowledge that they may stand over the site of the magnificent palace, built by King Solomon, and destroyed when the city was captured by King Nebuchadnezzar.

After having examined the Holy Sepulchre and the Haram, the traveller should visit Mount Sion, and in doing so he should bear in mind that it is not the Zion so often mentioned in the Bible, the name having

been transferred, at some period after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, from the eastern to the western hill. Starting once more from the open place inside the Jaffa Gate, the road should be taken which, leaving the citadel on the right, and Messrs. Cook's office on the left, leads south into the Armenian quarter beyond the citadel. A side street leads to Christ Church, the first English church built in Jerusalem, and maintained by the London Jews' Society, behind which are the remains of an ancient church called the church of the Three Marys, which is said to have been built at the place where Jesus Christ met the three Marys after His Resurrection. The road, which lies over the site of King Herod's palace, after passing the Turkish barracks, leads between the garden of the Armenian patriarch and the Armenian convent of St. James. According to tradition, the church of this convent, a most interesting building, was erected to commemorate the martyrdom of St. James, and there is a side chapel shown as being on the very place the Apostle was murdered. But this is a comparatively late tradition, dating from the twelfth century, when many new holy sites were discovered in Jerusalem. A short distance beyond the convent, the road turns to the left, and passes under the city wall by a gate called by Christians the Sion Gate, but known to the inhabitants as the Gate of the Prophet David. This is a modern gate, built when the walls were reconstructed by the Turks in 1542, but composed of old material, as a stone was found behind the wooden door on which was an inscription in Latin, dating from about A.D. 115, recording a victory of the Emperor Trajan, and evidently cut at the time that this quarter of Jerusalem was occupied as a Roman camp (*see* p. 115). Not far outside the Sion Gate is an Armenian building containing a small chapel, known as the House of Caiaphas, a traditional

site, shown to the Bordeaux pilgrim in A.D. 330, and, a little farther on, is the building known as the Cœnaculum or Place of the Last Supper, probably on the



IN THE CONVENT OF ST. JAMES

site of the Basilica of St. Mary erected by the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century. The present Mahomedan building, which is comparatively recent, is also supposed to contain the Sepulchres of King David

and King Solomon, and is therefore regarded as very holy by the Mahomedans. Behind the Cœnaculum is the new German church of the Dormition of the Virgin and the Benedictine convent, in which there is an interesting museum of Palestinian antiquities, and, from the tower of the church, there is a splendid view over the city and surrounding country.

No one visits Jerusalem without making a pilgrimage to the Mount of Olives, one of the few places respecting which there can be no question. It is possible to drive thither, taking the new road by Mount Scopus, but it is far better to go on foot, leaving Jerusalem by the eastern, or St. Stephen's Gate, and on the way a visit might be made to the church of St. Anne, just inside the gate, the traditional birthplace of the Virgin Mary, and to the very remarkable underground reservoir, approached from the courtyard of the church, identified with great probability with the Pool of Bethesda, where the miracle of healing the lame man, described in the Gospel of St. John, was performed. Some very interesting explorations in the vicinity of the pool are being made by the White Fathers who occupy the convent of St. Anne, and who have formed a useful museum of Biblical antiquities. After visiting St. Anne's and passing through St. Stephen's Gate, the road should be followed which leads down into the Valley of the Kedron, and then, crossing the bed of the valley by a bridge, ascends the steep slope of the Mount of Olives. On the left is the church of the Tomb of the Virgin, first built in the fifth century, and since then destroyed and rebuilt several times. A flight of steps leads down to the church, which is now underground, in consequence of the accumulations of earth around it. How great the accumulations are, may be judged from the fact that the original bed of the Kedron is about seventy-

five feet below the present bed, and was thirty-six feet nearer to the city, so that the valley in ancient times was much deeper, and must have presented quite a different appearance to what it does now. On the right is an enclosure shown as the Garden of Gethsemane, containing some very old olive trees, and there can be no doubt that the Garden was somewhere in this vicinity, but as all the trees in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem were cut down by the Romans in A.D. 70 to construct siege works, it is very improbable that any of the original trees can have survived.

Three paths lead up the hill, of which the easiest is that which goes to the right by the Garden of Gethsemane, and then, passing the Russian church of St. Mary Magdalen, and the so-called Tombs of the Prophets, which are Jewish tombs of early date, reaches an open space, in which is the entrance to the ground in charge of the White Fathers, containing the Crypt of the Credo and the church of the Pater Noster. The former is an ancient cistern, and the latter is modern, but between them is a most interesting relic, the foundation of the church of the Eleona, erected by the Empress Helena in the fourth century and destroyed by the Persians in A.D. 614, since which time it was never rebuilt. On the summit of the hill behind is the church of the Ascension, now used as a Mahomedan mosque, from the minaret of which there is a magnificent view of the city of Jerusalem to the west, and the Valley of the Jordan and Dead Sea to the east, with the mountains of Moab beyond. It is one of the finest prospects in the vicinity of the Holy City.

It must not be supposed that the walks which have been suggested exhaust all the points of interest; on the contrary, after having taken them, the visitor will begin to realize how little he knows, and how much more there is to be seen, and it must be clearly under-

stood that this little volume does not profess to be a guide book, but only to give a general foundation upon which the reader can build up the superstructure that he prefers. Some, for example, may devote themselves to the Jewish city, which came utterly to an end in A.D. 70, while others may like better to study the history of the mediæval city, which may be said to commence with the building of Ælia Capitolina by the Emperor Hadrian in A.D. 136, and to close with the Turkish occupation in A.D. 1517. Then the growth of the Christian traditions, commencing with the building of the Churches of the Anastasis and of the Martyrium by the Emperor Constantine in A.D. 335, and the curious way in which, as years passed by, old sites were moved about, and new ones were invented to suit the convenience of pilgrims, open a very large and most fascinating subject for investigation. But whatever may be the special branch of study which most appeals to the visitor, each and all will learn that the more they explore the records of the past, the more interesting will they find the history of Jerusalem, and the more they will realize the truth of the Bible story. Overlaid as it has been by many inventions of man, that truth remains unaltered, and each modern discovery tends to confirm and strengthen it.

IMPORTANT DATES

of events connected with the History of Jerusalem. Some of these dates, especially the earlier ones, can only be regarded as approximate.

B.C.	
2500.	Early Semitic Settlements.
1950.	Immigration of the Patriarch Abraham.
1500.	Jerusalem under Egyptian Rule.
1450.	Invasion of Palestine by the Israelites.
1055.	Accession of King David.
1048.	Capture of Jerusalem by King David.
1004.	Dedication of the Temple by King Solomon.
975.	Separation of Israel from Judah.
970.	Surrender of Jerusalem to Shishak, King of Egypt.
887.	Capture of Jerusalem by the Philistines.
884.	Usurpation of power by Queen Athaliah.
870.	Restoration of the Temple by Joash, King of Judah.
837.	Capture of Jerusalem by Joash, King of Israel.
780.	The Walls rebuilt by King Uzziah.
735.	Siege of Jerusalem by Pekah, King of Israel, and Rezin, King of Syria.
721.	Capture of Samaria by the Assyrians.
710.	Siege of Jerusalem by the Assyrians.
624.	Restoration of the Temple by King Josiah.
608.	The Kingdom of Judah tributary to Egypt.
586.	Capture and Destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon.
539.	Babylon taken by Cyrus, King of Persia.
537.	Return of the Jews from Babylon.
516.	Dedication of the Second Temple by Zerubbabel.
458.	The Mission of Ezra to Jerusalem.
445.	The Walls rebuilt by Nehemiah.
348.	Occupation of the City by Bagoses the Persian.
334.	Defeat of the Persians by Alexander, King of Macedon.
332.	Visit of King Alexander to Jerusalem.
320.	Capture of the City by Ptolemy, King of Egypt.
198.	Capture of the City by Antiochus the Great, King of Syria.

B.C.

168. Desecration of the Temple by King Antiochus Epiphanes.
165. Restoration of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus. The Walls of the City rebuilt.
139. Demolition of the Akra by Simon Maccabæus.
134. Siege of Jerusalem by King Antiochus Sidetes.
110. Fortress of the Baris, north of the Temple, built by John Hyrcanus.
107. Accession of Aristobulus, first of the Hasmonean Kings.
79. Alexandra Queen of Jerusalem.
65. Siege of Jerusalem by Aretas, King of the Arabians.
63. Capture of the City by Pompey, the Roman General.
49. The Walls rebuilt by Antipater. Probable Date of Construction of the Second Wall.
40. Capture of Jerusalem by the Parthians.
37. ,, ,, by King Herod the Great.
35. The Fortress of the Antonia, and the Royal Palace on the Western Hill built.
17. The Third Temple built by King Herod.
4. The Birth of Jesus Christ at Bethlehem.

A.D.

2. Death of King Herod the Great.
25. Pontius Pilate appointed Procurator of Judæa.
30. The Crucifixion of Jesus Christ.
41. The Third Wall built by King Agrippa.
66. Revolt of Jerusalem against the Romans.
70. Capture and complete Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.
130. Revolt by the Jews led by Bar Koziba.
136. Jerusalem rebuilt by the Emperor Hadrian, and called Ælia Capitolina.
312. Conversion of the Emperor Constantine to Christianity.
325. The Council of Nice.
335. The Churches of the Holy Sepulchre and of Golgotha completed.
363. Failure of Attempt by the Emperor Julian to rebuild the Temple of the Jews.
450. Churches built and the Walls repaired by the Empress Eudocia.
540. The Church of St. Mary, built by the Emperor Justinian.

Important Dates

A.D.

614. Capture of Jerusalem by the Persians and Destruction of Churches.
620. Restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by Modestus.
622. Flight of Mahomed from Mecca to Medina.
629. Visit of the Emperor Heraclius to Jerusalem.
637. Surrender of Jerusalem to the Khalif Omar.
661. Foundation of the Omeyyad Khalifate at Damascus.
691. The Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Aksa built by the Khalif Abd el Melek.
750. Foundation of the Abbaside Khalifate at Bagdad.
781. The Mosque of Aksa rebuilt by Khalif El Mahdi.
800. The Hospice of St. Mary Latina founded by the Emperor Charlemagne.
1012. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre destroyed by the Fatemite Khalif Hakem.
1016. Cupola of the Dome of the Rock overthrown by an Earthquake.
1037. Restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Dome of the Rock.
1048. Foundation of the Hospital of St. John.
1077. Capture of Jerusalem by the Seljuk Turks.
1093. Visit of Peter the Hermit to Jerusalem.
1095. The First Crusade.
1099. Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders.
1100. Death of Godfrey of Bouillon.
1118. Foundation of the Orders of the Temple and of the Hospital.
1130. The New Church of the Holy Sepulchre founded.
1146. The Second Crusade.
1187. Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin.
1188. The Third Crusade.
1191. Acre captured by the Crusaders and made the Capital of the Christian Kingdom.
1192. Death of Saladin.
1197. The Fourth Crusade.
1202. The Fifth (sometimes called the Fourth) Crusade.
1204. Constantinople taken by the Latins.
1216. The Sixth Crusade.
1219. The Walls of the City demolished by Melek el Muazzem.
1229. Occupation of Jerusalem by Frederick II, Emperor of Germany.
1239. The Tower of David destroyed by the Emir of Kerak.

A.D.

1244. Capture of Jerusalem by the Kharezmian Tartars.
1247. The walls rebuilt by the Egyptian Sultan Es Salih Ayub.
1248. The Seventh Crusade led by Louis IX of France.
1271. The Eighth and Last Crusade.
1291. Capture of Acre by the Saracens and Expulsion of the Christians from Palestine.
1340. Visit to Jerusalem of Ludolph von Suchem.
1483. ,, ,, ,, Felix Fabri.
1517. Jerusalem taken by the Turks.
1542. The Walls entirely rebuilt by Sultan Suleiman.
1610. Visit to Jerusalem of George Sandys.
1696. ,, ,, ,, the Rev. H. Maundrell.
1737. ,, ,, ,, Dr. F. Pococke.
1806. ,, ,, ,, F. de Chateaubriand.
1808. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre destroyed by fire.
1810. Restoration of the Church by the Greeks.
1831. Jerusalem occupied by Mahomed Ali, Pasha of Egypt.
1834. Revolt of the Peasants and Capture of the City.
1838. Visit to Jerusalem of the Rev. E. Robinson.
1841. Turkish Authority restored.
1850. Dispute between the Greek and Latin Churches, which led to the Crimean War.
1864. Survey of Jerusalem by Captain Wilson.
1868. The Cupola of the Holy Sepulchre restored.
1867–9. Explorations by Captain Warren.
1894–7. Explorations by Doctor F. T. Bliss.

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